

CONFLICTED DUTY ON THE INDIANA HOME FRONT:
A FAMILY'S CIVIL WAR STORY

Anastasia Tanzer

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of History,
Indiana University

January 2020

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty of Indiana University, in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Master's Thesis Committee

Anita Morgan, Ph.D., Chair

Kevin Cramer, Ph.D.

Nancy Marie Robertson, Ph.D.

© 2020

Anastasia Tanzer

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am thrilled to thank the people who helped me complete this thesis despite all of my nervous energy and setbacks. First and foremost, I must acknowledge my advisor and the chair of my thesis committee, Dr. Anita Morgan. When I first approached her with this project my thoughts were still vague. She pointed me towards the Ketcham family, and then guided me through how best to study and write about them. Without her I'm not sure what this project would have looked like. I would also like to thank the other members of my thesis committee. Dr. Kevin Cramer gave me the suggestion to look at what duty meant to each member of the family, which formed the major theme of this project and really brought out the more fascinating details of the family. Dr. Nancy Robertson was a last-minute addition after unforeseeable events caused a minor crisis to the committee, and I thank her for being willing to step in and help me with the final steps and editing. Dr. Robertson was also my professor when I was first developing this thesis and writing my proposal, and I thank her for her guidance then, as well. I also extend my gratitude to Dr. Modupe Labode, who helped me develop the exhibit brief section of this project.

I will also take this opportunity to thank the staff at the Indiana Historical Society, who had to deal with the old-fashioned storage of the collection. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my family, friends, and significant other, who listened to me both ramble excitedly about the Ketchams and rant when things got difficult or frustrating. Thank you for being willing to listen in all scenarios and for encouraging me to keep going because you knew I could get it done.

Anastasia Tanzer

CONFLICTED DUTY ON THE INDIANA HOME FRONT:

A FAMILY'S CIVIL WAR STORY

This project looks at the Ketcham family of Indianapolis and analyzes how each member had a different sense of duty that led them to take on different activities during the Civil War. It includes both a typical thesis portion and a public history supplement that takes the form of an exhibit brief. The supplement provides an alternate means of presenting the family to the public. The Ketchams were a white, upper-class family, so although many of their ideas and activities aligned with those of others across the northern United States, in this thesis I argue that they also had a unique experience. For example, the matriarch, Jane Merrill Ketcham, chose to serve as a nurse, as did many other women, but her decision took precedence over her husband's preference. This assertion was noteworthy because, during this time period, women were still typically expected to defer to their fathers or husbands.

This conclusion, and others throughout the project, are based on an analysis of both primary and secondary sources. The main primary sources used were the letters included in the Ketcham collection at the Indiana Historical Society, which provided insight to the thoughts, opinions, and activities of most family members – some members had fewer surviving letters than others. Scholarship regarding the Civil War from national, regional, and local perspectives allowed for a fuller picture of what the prevailing views and activities were and understand how the Ketchams were either emblematic of the common experience or different from it.

Anita Morgan, Ph.D., Chair

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Relevant Literature.....	2
The Ketchams	24
Chapter 1: Duty in the Family	28
Men Young and Old.....	28
Women at Home and Away	45
Chapter 2: After the War.....	54
Conclusion	65
Chapter 3: Public History Supplement	67
Introductory Statement.....	67
Exhibit Brief.....	69
Thematic Framework and Content.....	71
On the Home Front	71
On the Front Lines	75
Important Relationships	78
Thematic Structure.....	82
Exhibit Layout and Interactives	83
Formative Evaluation.....	93
Storyline.....	94
Appendices.....	101
Appendix A: H. B. Carrington, “Military Map of Indianapolis, 1862-1865”	101
Appendix B: S.A. Mitchell, “Map c. 1867”	102
Bibliography	103
Curriculum Vitae	

Introduction

In July 1862, John Lewis Ketcham, Jr., (known by his family and throughout this project as Lew) joined the 70th Indiana Regiment. The eldest son of John Lewis Ketcham, Sr., (referred to throughout this study as John) and Jane Merrill Ketcham, Lew was eager to fight for the preservation of the Union, as were many of his contemporaries. Just a few months earlier, he had written to his aunt, “As much as I like this place [Wabash College, in Crawfordsville, Indiana] and study, I can’t help wishing I were with the soldiers. Only on Ma’s account I don’t mention it, and January would see me with them, was it not entirely against the wish of my parents, should the war go on.”¹ One contemporary was his own brother, William. Just fifteen years old at the start of the war, Will also desperately wanted to serve his country, and told his father a “stirring account of [a] patriotic meeting,” which John quickly shot down as “a little funny” and “riotous”—and something his sons should not concern themselves with.² Despite a shared identity as Unionists, each family member felt moved to participate in the war effort in different ways, whether that be at home or on the front lines, and engaged in activities appropriate to their respective age and gender.

Careful reading of the letters and reminiscences of members of the Ketcham family, as well as an analysis of secondary literature regarding the Civil War, shed light on their activities and provide insight into many aspects of the era: political views and differences, the experiences of being in battle, student life in the 1860s, and home front

¹ William Ketcham to Aunt Kate [Catharine Merrill], October 2, 1861, David McDonald Autobiography, M0193, Folder 2 “McDonald, David Autobiography Journal, 1865,” pp. 41-42, Indiana Historical Society (hereafter IHS).

² John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, October 23, 1861, John Lewis Ketcham Papers (hereafter JLK), M0173, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

activity. Each family member's sense of duty and responsibility toward the war effort highlights one or more of these aspects. Of particular interest are Will Ketcham, his brother Henry, and their mother, who saw and participated in activities both at home and on the front lines. Will's experiences featured most prominently in the collection in letters written to and between his family, and reveal details of Indiana politics and social interests from a more middle-class point of view in the state than has previously been studied. The insights he and the rest of his family provide add a further dimension to the increasingly local study of Union activities during the Civil War.

This study analyze one family's experiences on both the home front and battlefield, rather than tell a holistic story of the Civil War. While this analysis naturally incorporates discussions of larger movements and opinions across Indiana, the Midwest, and the Union, the family unit is of the utmost importance. Just one of many families affected by the war, their story helps us consider the factors that led young men to become soldiers, what parents thought of their children's wartime participation, and the responsibility each family felt towards the nation. This analysis of the Ketchams begins with the letters written between family members during the war years, and reveals glimpses of their beliefs and behaviors. Secondary sources fill in the inevitable gaps between the letters and provide clues to the deeper societal pressures that influenced the Ketchams' wartime activities.

Relevant Literature

Research and interpretation of the Civil War date almost from its finale. Soon after General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, Americans began to try to make sense of four years of carnage. Historians have primarily fixated on the causes of the war,

ranging from the southern emphasis on the issue of states' rights to the northern, and the now more-widely-held argument that the conflict was primarily about slavery. Other heavily researched topics have included the politics that led to and influenced the war effort, military strategies used by both northern and southern troops, and the thoughts and actions of the main political actors on both sides. Two of the most well-known books that cover these widespread, national topics are James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* and Phillip Shaw Paludan's *A People's Contest: The Union and the Civil War, 1861-1865*.³ Over time, however, Civil War scholars have narrowed their focus to regional, local, and family histories, which will all be more pertinent to this study.

From a national standpoint, another of McPherson's books creates a basis for understanding the Ketcham men. As part of his large compendia of Civil War studies, he published *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*, a concise evaluation of what duty, honor, and manhood meant to northern men.⁴ McPherson uses several letters and diaries, primarily written by men from the Northeast, to examine what led men to become soldiers. In essence, he found that duty and honor were the prime motivating factors, alongside patriotism. Many men wrote that they felt a sense of *duty* to serve their nation; they often used this language "to persuade reluctant parents and wives to sanction their decision to enlist."⁵ As McPherson puts it, duty was "understood to be a moral obligation involving reciprocity: one had a duty to defend the flag under whose

³ James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Phillip Shaw Paludan, *A People's Contest: The Union and the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988).

⁴ James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 22.

protection one had lived.”⁶ Honor was intimately linked with duty, but was considered the public face of it—to shirk one’s duty was to bring dishonor on himself. Manhood was similarly linked to duty; if a man did not go to war then he was not a man at all. Together these concepts, the feeling of needing to give back to the nation, the public shame that would accompany not doing so, and the need to prove one’s manhood, led most men into battle, according to McPherson.⁷

An important note, however, is that McPherson was participating in a historiographical debate regarding the motivations for joining the war effort. A decade earlier, for example, Gerald F. Linderman posited that while duty and honor were certainly important they paled in comparison to the more definable concept of courage. Linderman wrote that courage constituted a “narrow, rigid, and powerful meaning: heroic action undertaken without fear,” and was at the center of an imperfect circle of values held by Civil War soldiers.⁸ These other values, including duty and honor, were too broad and inclusive to be regarded as the prime motivators, as the definition given to each concept varied from person to person. While a sense of duty may have “prompted [young Americans] to enlist,” and honor may have “held them to soldiering through their terms of enlistment,” Linderman asserted that the pursuit of courage “served as the goad and guide of men in battle.”⁹ Based on the Ketcham letters and their own discussions of duty, that concept will be the focus of this project, but it is clear that other motivators likely played a role, as well.

⁶ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 23.

⁷ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 22-26.

⁸ Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 17; 8-11.

⁹ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 16.

More recently, in *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Violence, Honor, and Manhood in the Union Army*, Lorien Foote also considers the traits associated with manhood in antebellum America, although she notes how they often overlapped in unexpected ways.¹⁰ The so-called “gentlemen” were generally upper-class men who associated masculinity with their education and good manners. They equated manliness with avoiding the “evils” of “intoxication, profanity, licentiousness, and gambling.”¹¹ These men also valued a sense of “gentility,” characterized by education, refinement, civility, and cleanliness.¹² The “roughs,” conversely, typically came from the lower classes and believed that physical prowess and violence were signs of manhood. They equated manliness with drinking and dirt, and considered the idea of gentility effeminate.¹³

Aside from these stark contrasts, however, Foote documents that many men did not put themselves in only one category or the other as described above. For instance, men who may have called themselves gentlemen based on their education or cleanliness were comfortable with a form of “male camaraderie” that included “boisterous noise, unruly behavior, and feats of prowess,” while in army camps.¹⁴ Furthermore, participating in something like a duel, which could be construed as violent, was considered a gentlemanly way of defending honor. Even this, however, could be broken down between classes. Gentlemen followed “the formal code duello,” in which both parties “carefully followed prescribed forms regarding the insult, the exchange of notes, the duties of the seconds, and the persona required for the dueling ground.” Meanwhile,

¹⁰ Lorien Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Violence, Honor, and Manhood in the Union Army* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

¹¹ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 18.

¹² Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 40, 50.

¹³ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 29, 40, 50.

¹⁴ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 67.

rougher men, while still potentially calling their fight a duel, responded to “informal challenges to fight with either fists or weapons.”¹⁵ In other words, the roughs chose not to engage in a ritual to address their disagreements, unlike their gentlemen comrades.

Generally speaking, the Ketcham men were gentlemen, as Foote presents the term, and behaved as such to the best of our knowledge (for example, Will wrote of his First Lieutenant, “He has no education, is a hard drinker; how vulgar”).¹⁶ They derived their sense of duty and manhood from their class status and the moral code associated with it. However, Foote’s analysis should encourage us to consider how these definitions were not actually rigid. Men, regardless of their class, education, or moral code at home, may have behaved differently while at war.

Aside from the general sense of duty that many men felt was their call to action, northern soldiers were strongly influenced by the media and other sources, including newspapers, novels, poems, and music. J. Matthew Gallman discusses this phenomenon in *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front*.¹⁷ The “duty” he refers to is primarily that of young white men to their nation, although he also discusses how women and African Americans should behave to best support the war effort. Gallman adds to the usual range of primary sources by including novels, recruitment posters, cartoons, and other popular culture that their creators used to guide the activity of all northerners for the duration of the Civil War. These media, often aimed towards young men, appealed to their sense of manhood by suggesting that becoming a soldier would result in both personal and national glory.

¹⁵ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 96.

¹⁶ Will Ketcham to “dear Sister,” May 1, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

¹⁷ J. Matthew Gallman, *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

Additionally, Gallman analyzes the views toward and treatment of the Enrollment Act, a topic approached by several other historians. The legislation, passed by the United States Congress in March 1863, was the United States' first successful conscription law, calling for a draft of fresh manpower to join the Union troops. It quickly became a contested topic. While many soldiers and some civilians saw the Act as positive, encouraging more men to volunteer before they could be drafted, many northerners at home were against it, particularly Democrats who were sympathetic to the southern cause and farmers of either party who felt they could not leave their crops. This disapproval ultimately led to many draft riots across the nation. Stephen E. Towne discusses how "widespread desertion and resistance to federal conscription on the home front prompted concerned commanders to act against the growing threat to the integrity of the army" across the Midwest in *Surveillance and Spies in the Civil War: Exposing Confederate Conspiracies in America's Heartland*.¹⁸ Army officials found evidence not only of resistance, but armed resistance, as civilians started purchasing more weapons and ammunition and rallied to protect deserters and draft dodgers, or to physically attack enrollment officers and prisoner-of-war camps.¹⁹ Emma Lou Thornbrough also wrote of the complicated relationship Hoosiers had with the draft in her history of Indiana. To some the draft was popular because it encouraged more people to volunteer; "a stigma was attached to being drafted," so enlistments rose when a draft was announced.²⁰ Many men, however, avoided the draft altogether (Towne's "draft dodgers") by hiring

¹⁸ Stephen E. Towne, *Surveillance and Spies in the Civil War: Exposing Confederate Conspiracies in America's Heartland* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015), 3.

¹⁹ Towne, *Surveillance and Spies*, 3, 64, 252.

²⁰ Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1965), 134.

substitutes, paying a commutation fee, or simply running away, going west, or even heading to Canada.²¹ Thornbrough also included examples of armed resistance, as she described people in Randolph County who tore down the local enrollment officer's fence and others in Putnam County who reportedly formed a mob and attacked the enrollment officer's house.²²

Steven J. Ramold, in *Across the Divide: Union Soldiers View the Northern Home Front*, looks at the controversy from a soldier's perspective.²³ Men on the front lines were often frustrated by the perceived lack of assistance from home and were particularly upset by those who opposed the draft. From their perspective, everyone should do their best to support the war effort, and men who avoided the draft in any way, or women who kept their sons and husbands from joining the military, were cowards. The Ketchams themselves provide first-hand accounts to support Ramold's analysis. Lew wrote to his parents while positioned just outside Indianapolis "the draft has been issued [??] in all the out townships Tuesday and Wednesday. And has been progressing in the city all day. Everything is quiet as a May morning. Not a ripple. The day for resisting the draft is over. It is all bosh[?]. None of the disloyal whelps ever intended it. Their threats were for intimidation and to embarrass the Government."²⁴ This perfectly reflects the frustration Ramold describes, albeit somewhat vaguely. The Ketchams were Republican and pro-Union, and were frustrated by those who were not, which would have included a large number of Democrats and Confederate sympathizers. These were likely the "disloyal

²¹ Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 132-34.

²² Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 133.

²³ Steven J. Ramold, *Across the Divide: Union Soldiers View the Northern Home Front* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

²⁴ Lew Ketcham to Jane Merrill and John Lewis Ketcham, September 24, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

whelps” Lew mentions. His father, who remained at home and was not a soldier, also showed his favor for the draft by saying, “The draft has been postponed because volunteering is so high. Indiana will soon have filled her quota. I wish the draft had gone on. Whenever volunteering fails speedily to fill up the quota the draft is to go forward immediately.”²⁵ Despite the soldiers’ perception that many at home were not properly supporting the war effort, John’s letter is evidence that at least some did. Additionally, the letter shows an agreement between soldiers and like-minded individuals at home regarding the draft.

James Marten provides a further layer to the discussion of how men decided whether to join the Union Army in *The Children’s Civil War*.²⁶ Like Gallman in *Defining Duty*, Marten frequently uses nineteenth-century media, but instead of discussing how this affected adults he highlights how children were influenced to respond to the war. Photographs, toys and games, and magazines propagandized the war effort in both the North and South to mold children’s perceptions by showing them “good and evil, Yankee and Rebel, and the right and wrong ways to act.”²⁷ Children’s magazines, like *The Student and Schoolmate*, could be directly instructional in children’s play, as they described such scenarios as Union children donning “their uniforms and march[ing] to Confederate General Braxton Bragg’s headquarters to protest successfully his soldiers’ destruction of their playground and wooden rafts.”²⁸ Schools themselves were often the birthplace of children’s political opinions, as students might rehearse war songs such as

²⁵ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, February 15, 1865, JLK, Box 2, Folder 4, IHS.

²⁶ James Marten, *The Children’s Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

²⁷ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 149.

²⁸ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 36.

“Battle Hymn of the Republic,” or participate in pageants singing the national anthem and performing military drills.²⁹ Between these demonstrations, hearing political opinions at home, and other sources, children were exposed to many different forms of patriotism that informed how they in turn thought and behaved, sometimes even sending them into battle whether they were of age or not.

Unfortunately, Marten does not clearly define the age range that constitutes “children” during the era, which would help classify the Ketcham boys. By today’s legal standards, Will would have been a child for most of the war years, being born in 1846 and therefore under the age of eighteen until 1864. However, other studies lead to the conclusion that Will and Lew, born in 1844, were both young adults throughout the Civil War, as the average age when starting college in the mid-to late-1800s was fifteen.³⁰ Their younger brother Henry, born in 1848, was an emerging young adult toward the end of the war and their two youngest brothers, born in 1850, remained children for the duration. The ambiguity of Marten’s concept of childhood makes it difficult to apply his conclusions to all of the Ketcham boys, but at least three of them were certainly children for part or all of the war years, and the broad application of the topics discussed in Marten’s book allow his conclusions to be linked to the family.

²⁹ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 150.

³⁰ “Selected Class Histories: College Class of 1852,” *Penn University Archives & Records Center*, accessed March 20, 2019, <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-history/class-histories/class-of-1852>; Julie A. Mujic, “Ours is the Harder Lot,” in *Union Heartland: The Midwestern Home Front during the Civil War*, Ginette Aley & J.L. Anderson, eds. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), 33-67. The web source, held and published by the University of Pennsylvania, lists 21 students who graduated from the school in 1852. Upon their graduation, most were between the ages of 18 and 21, bringing the average age at graduation to 19.4. Between this evidence and Julie A. Mujic’s statement that most University of Michigan students were between the ages of 14 and 18, it may be concluded that college-aged students during the era were a few years younger than they are now.

On the topic of schooling, of particular interest to this study is Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai's book, *Northern Character: College-Educated New Englanders, Honor, Nationalism, and Leadership in the Civil War Era*. The author looks at several young men who attended northeastern colleges—primarily Harvard, Yale, Amherst, Bowdoin, Dartmouth, and Williams—in the 1850s and 1860s to see how they responded to the war. The students at these colleges were mostly northeasterners themselves, with a few coming from other regions such as the Midwest and even the Hawaiian Islands.³¹ He analyzes how their positions in society—middle- or upper-class and well-educated white men—not only resulted in a desire to lend their knowledge and leadership skills to the war effort on the front lines, but also produced a generational divide between the young men and their fathers. Members of the older generation were of the opinion that “college-educated men should aid the Union war effort on the home front,” while their children “believed that they could best serve their country on the battlefield.” Both age groups in these higher social classes believed they could separate themselves from “the common laborer,” but only the younger generation thought they should use their skills to lead the lower classes in battle. Their parents saw it as a “poor man’s fight;” their sons should not have to risk their lives, unlike the country’s laborers.³²

While Wongsrichanalai examines students in New England specifically, his conclusions may be applied to inhabitants across the northern states, including the Ketchams in Indiana. The Ketcham family had roots in New England, as Jane’s father came from Vermont and attended Dartmouth himself. Whether this ancestry was directly

³¹ Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai, *Northern Character: College-Educated New Englanders, Honor, Nationalism, and Leadership in the Civil War Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 9.

³² Wongsrichanalai, *Northern Character*, 101-6.

correlated with the family's behaviors, or well-off families across the North simply had a similar approach to the war effort, is uncertain. Regardless, Will certainly possessed many of the qualities associated with these so-called "New Brahmins" on the East Coast and encountered similar disagreements with his father regarding how best to lend support to northern troops. Furthermore, John, like his northeastern counterparts, believed that the education they and their sons had received meant they could remain at home and support the war effort from afar. For example, some men referred to the Revolutionary War, stating that the founding fathers often supplied aid or council, or helped form governing documents like the Constitution, rather than fighting.³³ Will and other young men, however, insisted that their higher education meant they should lead troops into battle.³⁴

Not all young men in the North shared the fervor to become soldiers. In Julie A. Mujic's essay, "Ours is the Harder Lot," featured in Ginette Aley and J. L. Anderson's edited collection, *Union Heartland: The Midwestern Home Front during the Civil War*, students at the University of Michigan, who came "from nearly every state in the country," showed a different form of patriotism than did their New England counterparts.³⁵ Unlike the "New Brahmins," who believed they must serve as soldiers due to their social status, many Michigan students believed that staying in school would allow them to better support the nation after the war. John Lewis Ketcham, Sr., and the northeastern fathers shared this view, as mentioned above. These students also expressed unfavorable views of the draft, a finding that aligns with Gallman's and Ramold's conclusions that individuals on the home front often opposed the Enrollment Act.

³³ Wongsrichanalai, *Northern Character*, 105.

³⁴ Wongsrichanalai, *Northern Character*, 102.

³⁵ Mujic in "Ours is the Harder Lot," 36. Mujic provides a full list of states in the accompanying footnote.

The differing viewpoints presented by these authors illustrates a curious divide between young men of the Midwest and Northeast during the war years. This could in part be explained by the fact that those living on the East Coast felt more established in the nation, having been part of the original thirteen colonies that fought for independence during the American Revolution. Conversely, the Midwest was a land of fairly recent additions to the U.S. The first fifteen states admitted to the nation, consisting of the original colonies along the eastern coast plus Vermont and Kentucky, gained statehood within a five-year period before 1800.³⁶ The region now considered the Midwest—including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas—started being admitted only in 1803 (Ohio), with Indiana following a full thirteen years later. While many of the citizens in Indiana, like the Ketchams, had moved from the eastern states and had been in Indiana for decades already prior to the start of the Civil War, some may have more recently migrated and, therefore, felt removed from their obligations to the larger nation.

As a result, people who had been settled in the Midwest for a relatively short amount of time might not have felt as though they could spare their sons to the war effort. In the introduction of their edited volume, Ginette Aley and J. L. Anderson acknowledge that “the regional Midwest, then, was distinct from much of the rest of the north in terms of its pervasive rural character, the rising significance of its agricultural production, and the relatively recent admission of several of the states that constituted it.”³⁷ Additionally, Thomas E. Rodgers wrote, “Southern Indiana—especially the southeast—was settled

³⁶ “States By Order of Entry Into the Union,” *Infoplease*, accessed March 15, 2019, <https://www.infoplease.com/history-and-government/us-history/states-order-entry-union>.

³⁷ Aley and Anderson, *Union Heartland*, 4.

decades before many northern parts of the state. . . It was these areas that had the largest number of young men who could be spared from their economies.”³⁸ From these two sources it may be surmised that at least some of the young men who could have joined the war effort, particularly those further north, held back due to the necessity of their presence at home. They may have felt a stronger sense of duty to their families than to the nation, and saw their their assistance on a farm and their family’s economic survival as more important than serving in the army.

It is important to acknowledge a historiographical debate on this subject. While Aley and Anderson promote a distinct Midwestern identity, and Rodgers suggests that some young men felt more compelled to remain at home, historians Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray argue the opposite. In their essay “The Story of the Midwest: An Introduction,” Cayton and Gray write, “Unlike its New England and Southern counterparts, the Midwestern story as it emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century was not about alienation from either the market or the nation. On the contrary, it was about near total identification with both.”³⁹ Cayton further claims that “it remained a region without a sense of regional identity. It so thoroughly embodied the fictions of the national discourse that there was no sense of regional isolation. There was, therefore, no urgent need for regionality in the Midwest.”⁴⁰ It is certainly possible that many in the Midwest felt a stronger national identity than a regional one, but at least some did feel a

³⁸ Thomas E. Rodgers, “Hoosier Soldiers in the Civil War,” *Indiana Historical Bureau*, <https://www.in.gov/history/3991.htm>.

³⁹ Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray, “The Story of the Midwest: An Introduction,” in *The American Midwest: Essays on Regional History*, Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 10.

⁴⁰ Cayton, “The Anti-Region: Place and Identity in the History of the American Midwest,” in *The American Midwest*, 157-158.

strong regional identity. In her book *The World of Juliette Kinzie: Chicago Before the Fire*, Ann Durkin Keating writes that the titular character considered herself a westerner, and “bridled at her son-in-law’s characterizing her as a Northerner.”⁴¹ While this description does not necessarily discount a national identity, it does highlight a regional one. The subjects of my project, the Ketchams, did not express a strong preference either way in the records they left, although they undoubtedly supported the Union. Based on the evidence, however, I believe that regional differences played a role in the decision to join the war effort.

Peter Carmichael has offered a similar explanation, although with distinctly different results, in describing the southern states and their call to arms. In *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in Peace, War, and Reunion*, he writes that those in the younger generation in Virginia “saw themselves as Southerners first, Americans second.”⁴² This generation, unlike the one before it, had not participated in a national event like the Mexican War and felt further removed from the American Revolution. This temporal distance in many ways made them *more* likely to fight—their regional pride led them to fight against the larger nation, rather than the other way around. They also put a higher value on education than did their parents, making them more similar to their University of Michigan counterparts than their northeastern ones, although it is worth noting that many students from Virginia attended school in the North, such as at Brown or Princeton Universities.⁴³

⁴¹ Ann Durkin Keating, *The World of Juliette Kinzie: Chicago Before the Fire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 148.

⁴² Peter S. Carmichael, *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in Peace, War, and Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 9.

⁴³ Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 86-88.

Members of this “last generation developed a love affair with education, believing it to be the great panacea to Virginia’s moral, intellectual, and material problems.”⁴⁴ Their parents, on the other hand, “insisted that college was a dangerous period,” as “a single misstep could trigger a lifetime of self-destructive behavior.”⁴⁵ They believed these young men still needed parental supervision, and were therefore wary of sending their children away. These conclusions provide a valuable comparison to the behavior of northerners during the Civil War. Youth fighting on both sides of the war shared similar views about education and the need for action, but while these traits were separated regionally in the North (with some midwestern students valuing education over fighting, and northeastern students doing the opposite), they were equally valued by southerners.

Women have yet to be discussed here, not because their activities were any less important, but because there is less nuance involved in the explanation, at least with regard to this project. The men of the Ketcham family exhibited complex relationships and conflicting senses of duty that were based on a number of factors, outlined above. There were only four Ketcham women, however, one of whom was only six years old when the war began and two of whom remained in Indianapolis for the duration of the war. This decision was not unusual. Nina Silber, in *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War*, discusses what led women to pursue various war-time activities. The majority of women who felt compelled to take part in the war effort did so from home, joining aid societies that prepared food, clothing, or bandages that were then sent to the front. These societies took a variety of forms: some were connected to national relief efforts such as the United States Sanitary Commission while others were local.

⁴⁴ Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 84.

⁴⁵ Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 71.

Some were run by men, with women volunteers, while others had all female officers.⁴⁶ Regardless, the work of these societies “drew mainly on the energy of the North’s middle and upper classes,” who were more likely to have organizational experience and time on their hands. Doing so was considered acceptable political activity within the confines of traditional women’s work. According to Silber, the Republican Party, in particular, embraced “women’s moral strength and political legitimacy,” which allowed them to develop a new, broader relationship with “civic and political life in America.”⁴⁷ Nevertheless, this involvement, while certainly expanded, was still largely contained in performing tasks that women had been doing for centuries.

Other women like Jane Merrill Ketcham, the family matriarch, felt a “need to do more than prepare food, clothing, and medical supplies for men at the front,” as described by Jane E. Schultz in her book *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America*.⁴⁸ Some women may have felt a religious calling, others a patriotic duty, while others simply required an income to support themselves and their families. Regardless of the specific reason, however, it came down to a sense of duty to the nation and an urge to participate from the front lines, and these women became nurses. There was mixed public opinion regarding female nurses. On the one hand, “relief workers’ nursing reinforced nineteenth-century notions that women were born nurturers.”⁴⁹ At the same time, this nurturing nature was tied up with domesticity and docility, which undermined women’s ability to gain autonomy in the hospitals where they worked. Additionally, these notions

⁴⁶ Nina Silber, *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 165-166.

⁴⁷ Silber, *Daughters of the Union*, 6-9.

⁴⁸ Jane E. Schultz, *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 46.

⁴⁹ Schultz, *Women at the Front*, 3.

pertained almost exclusively to older women. Superintendent of the Office of Army Nurses, Dorothea Dix, established strict requirements for the appointment of women nurses, including that they must be between the ages of thirty-five and fifty, exhibit “matronly persons of experience, good conduct, or superior education,” and dress plainly while in service.⁵⁰ These guidelines served to keep younger thrill-seekers, who might be harmed or taken advantage of by soldiers, from gaining appointment, although many were able to circumvent the system. This number did not include the Ketcham daughters, however; only their mother, a woman in her forties, chose to serve as a nurse.

Finally, two studies have looked closely at communities and families of Indiana: Nicole Etcheson’s *A Generation at War: The Civil War Era in a Northern Community* and Michael B. Murphy’s *The Kimberlins Go to War: A Union Family in Copperhead Country*.⁵¹ While not describing environments precisely the same as the Ketchams in Indianapolis, their texts provide insights into Hoosier sentiments and activities during the war in other regions. Etcheson looks broadly at the people of Putnam County, located west of Indianapolis, while Murphy focus on one family living in southern Indiana. Each covers a number of topics, from the social implications of men being away from home to the political divisions between Republicans, Peace Democrats (Copperheads), and War Democrats.

Etcheson discusses many of the topics already considered; because she looks at another Hoosier community near Indianapolis her conclusions are more directly applicable to the Ketchams. For instance, during an extended discussion of Miles Fletcher

⁵⁰ Schultz, *Women at the Front*, 15.

⁵¹ Nicole Etcheson, *A Generation at War: The Civil War Era in a Northern Community* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011); Michael B. Murphy, *The Kimberlins Go to War: A Union Family in Copperhead Country* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2016).

and his wife, Jennie, Etcheson describes the somewhat complicated relationship between men and women in the mid-nineteenth century. She writes that “middle-class couples increasingly prized companionate marriage,” although “male independence and female dependence were considered natural and complementary.”⁵² While some men, like Miles’ father, Calvin, looked to their wives as partners to consult, others believed women should do as their husbands said without complaint. The Ketchams appear to have been of the first opinion, given John’s acceptance of his wife’s decision to serve as a nurse during the Civil War.

Continuing with the discussion of women, Etcheson later examines their activity and political views during the war, which were linked to the question of duty. She references McPherson in describing how many women disagreed with their menfolk about “the nature of men’s duty”; while many men, as discussed, joined the army because they thought it was their duty to the nation, women believed that their husbands’ duty was to the care of family at home. Some men joined the army for that very reason. Etcheson opens chapter five with a discussion of a married couple, Lucius and Alice Chapin, who disagreed over his decision to join the Union army. Lucius joined not for any sense of duty or honor but to pay off his debts and be able to better provide for his family.⁵³ Alice, on the other hand, did not see this decision as being for her and their children. She, like many women, “saw the war as an impediment to fulfilling traditional roles,” and waited impatiently for her husband to return home so she could be re-established as mistress of her own home.⁵⁴ Despite this perspective, many women applied

⁵² Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 51.

⁵³ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 124.

⁵⁴ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 125.

themselves to soldiers' aid and other support activities. Etcheson writes about women across Putnam County presenting a flag to the soldiers, preparing meals for them for celebrations or after drills, collecting money, linens, or food, and making clothes.⁵⁵ While the Ketcham women did not have the same initial reaction to men going to war, primarily because they did not have husbands who joined, they did engage in these supportive home front activities.

Etcheson also discusses the variety of male opinion and activity towards the war effort. She acknowledges that most soldiers were young and unmarried, like the Ketcham boys, and that they often sought their parents' consent. She references one boy who was about Lew's age and likely a classmate, as he attended Wabash College from 1860 through 1862.⁵⁶ Ransom Hawley, Jr., intended to enlist soon after the war started in 1861, but was likely prevented from doing so by his parents, because he did not join until the summer of 1862.⁵⁷ Hawley's experience parallels both Lew's and Will's enlistment with the war, although Will joined two years later. A further similarity, not with Hawley specifically but between Putnam and Marion Counties, is the reaction to the Militia Act of July 1862, which led to the first draft. Etcheson writes that while "Democrats regarded conscription as an unconstitutional and tyrannical violation of individual liberty," Republicans believed it was "the opposition to conscription that was treasonous."⁵⁸ This is the only mention Etcheson makes regarding the draft, but it aligns with other

⁵⁵ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 130.

⁵⁶ James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, eds, *500 Strong: Wabash College Students in the Civil War* (Carmel, IN: Hawthorne Publishing), 181. In this book documenting Wabash students who served in the Civil War, a brief section confirms that Ransom Hawley, Jr., was born the same year as Lew (1844) and attended Wabash before joining the Army in July 1862. He continued to both serve and attend school intermittently through 1865, unlike the Ketcham boys.

⁵⁷ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 127.

⁵⁸ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 108.

discussions previously mentioned—Republicans and Unionists, like the Ketchams, supported the draft, and resented those who fought against it.

Murphy analyzes similar subtopics in his book, although he concentrates even more narrowly on one extended family living in Lexington, Indiana. Importantly, while the Kimberlins share at least a few similarities with the Ketchams, they exhibit many differences, revealing the variety of experiences across the state. Both families had ancestors who came from the East Coast and settled in Indiana in the early nineteenth century, either just before or just after statehood.⁵⁹ Both Unionist families also lived in communities that were divided between Republican and Democratic sentiments.⁶⁰ The Kimberlins had a very different experience, however, having been farmers who sent many more family members to the front than the Ketchams did. The Kimberlins had also owned slaves, possibly as late as 1850.⁶¹

One of the prime differences between the families, and a difficulty of generalizing from the Kimberlins' experiences, is the lack of primary sources for the Kimberlins. From page one Murphy acknowledges that he could not determine why many members of the family enlisted to begin with, writing specifically, "We do not know Jacob T. [Kimberlin]'s thoughts as he decided to sign up for three years of military service."⁶² Consequently, most of the book looks at Civil War activity in Scott County, Indiana, contextualizing the political sentiments and economic environment in which the Kimberlins lived. However, enough letters and other records in the town survived to

⁵⁹ Murphy, *The Kimberlins*, 3.

⁶⁰ Murphy, *The Kimberlins*, 1-2.

⁶¹ Murphy, *The Kimberlins*, 15. According to the 1820 census the family owned four slaves and may still have owned one in 1850.

⁶² Murphy, *The Kimberlins*, 1.

piece their story together. The Kimberlins, and their extended family, sent thirty-three family members, including fathers, sons, uncles, and cousins. Of this number, ten died before the war was over. This experience is wildly different from the Ketchams' sending of just two sons who both lived. Additionally, as far as the records show the Kimberlin women all stayed at home, rather than serving as nurses as Jane Ketcham did. They did, however, support their relatives in whatever ways they could, as was common during the time. In a joint letter home, two of the brothers wrote, "tell our sisters [Polly Ann, Betsy, and Maria] that sent them cakes to us by Mr. Sullivan that they come to us in good order."⁶³ Evidently, the Kimberlin women were sending at least food to their soldiers on the battlefield, just as the Ketcham women did.

Murphy acknowledges the environment in which the Kimberlins lived and factors this into his speculation on why they joined the war. While all of Indiana was split between Union patriotism and Confederate sympathies, Scott County in the southern part of the state appears to have been distinctly divided. Many of the people living there had come from the slave states of Virginia and Kentucky, also a border state, and still had family in those states. Additionally, the area had a largely southern-oriented economy, being primarily agricultural.⁶⁴ As part of the Ohio River Valley, the people of Scott County conducted most of their business with the South, rather than the North, and suffered as a result of the Union's blockades during the war. Hoosiers living further north in the state, such as in Putnam County and Indianapolis, would not have experienced these same links to the South. Despite these connections, the Kimberlins did not feel

⁶³ Murphy, *The Kimberlins*, 7. The letter was sent from William and Benjamin Kimberlin to Jacob R. Kimberlin on November 10, 1861.

⁶⁴ Murphy, *The Kimberlins*, 30.

partial to the southern cause. Murphy extrapolates that they, “possibly more than any family in their area, understood and appreciated that the land they lived on and the principles upon which Scott County was founded, were worth preserving.”⁶⁵ They were early settlers of the state, and took pride in their county and country as a result. While they did not voice this in their letters, they certainly appeared to have a sense of duty to their way of living that encouraged so many family members to enlist and re-enlist throughout the war.

A further important note about Murphy’s and Etcheson’s books is that they are both microhistories of the war, described by Etcheson as a means through which historians “can illuminate truths about the culture under study.”⁶⁶ In essence, a microhistory enables the reader to devise generalizations about the period under study and see how individuals responded to and understood the war. Both authors look at the same categories regarding the war as in the larger compendia by McPherson and Paludan, but on a much smaller scale. This study adopts a similar approach. The Ketcham family in Indianapolis demonstrates how one family was both affected by and contributed to the war effort. By studying their activities and feelings during the Civil War, we can gain a greater understanding of how a fairly affluent, white midwestern family approached the war effort. Books such as Etcheson’s and Murphy’s are great in starting a conversation—this particular study aims to add a further layer to the understanding of how people, of all classes and genders, approached the war effort.

The sources mentioned above, in addition to others that will be mentioned throughout this study, contribute to the analysis of the Ketchams’ experiences and

⁶⁵ Murphy, *The Kimberlins*, 115.

⁶⁶ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 12.

comparisons to others across the northern states. Like many young men, Will and Lew were eager to serve their country as soldiers, but were influenced by their family's wishes. The women of the family as well as the younger boys felt their own calls to duty, as will be described, but had to find non-combat methods to satisfy this desire. The various perspectives represented in the family—women and men, young and old, at home and in battle—provide insight into the thoughts and activities of Civil War-era families in Indiana, and across the nation.

The Ketchams

It is difficult to pinpoint the most noteworthy aspect of the Ketcham family's lives. Is it that the two eldest sons, Lew and Will, spent over a year touring Europe with two of their unmarried aunts? Or that the Ketcham twins, Frank and Ed, who were just eleven at the start of the war, seemed to have free-rein of the town and very little supervision? Perhaps we can identify the mother's decision to leave home and serve as a nurse in Gallatin, Tennessee, nearly 300 miles away, leaving her husband to oversee the home and their children as the most interesting.

Each of these activities are noteworthy and are tied to a term that has received much attention in Civil War research: duty. According to Noah Webster's newly revised *An American Dictionary* (1863), duty can refer to "that which is due from one person to another... especially, that which a person is bound, by any natural, moral, or legal obligation, to do, or refrain from doing." A further potential definition is "service rendered... said especially of military service."⁶⁷ While this is the revised version from the middle of the war the definitions are likely similar to how the Ketchams would have

⁶⁷ Noah Webster, revised and enlarged by Chauncey A. Goodrich and Noah Porter, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam, 1865), 421.

understood them when deciding whether to join the war effort. The concept of duty as it pertains to legal obligation or military service is clear—many men, including the Ketcham boys, believed their duty was to the nation and that this was best exercised as soldiers. A natural or moral obligation can lean in either direction. For example, many women felt torn between their natural roles as mothers and homemakers, which may have kept that home, and their equally natural role as nurturers, which may have led them to become nurses. Duty to the family, duty to the nation, and duty to the self could be contradictory notions because of these various obligations, but remained important considerations for Americans in the mid-nineteenth century, especially after the first shot was fired at Fort Sumter. What did duty mean to a man during wartime? Should he stay at home and care for his family, or serve as a soldier defending his own and his nation's ideals? What did duty mean to a woman? Was her duty to the home as it had always been, or was it aiding the war effort directly and publicly? And what did duty mean to a child? To what extent were children aware of and affected by the war, and how were they expected to behave?

None of these questions has a clear answer; each person would have responded differently depending on individual circumstances. Each question was addressed in differing ways by members of the Ketcham household. With eight living children, most under the age of eighteen at the start of the war, John and Jane had their hands full. They were a well-off family—Jane's father, Samuel Merrill, was the State Treasurer of Indiana when the capital moved from Corydon to Indianapolis in 1824, and John was a prominent lawyer in the city. Their two eldest children, Elizabeth (Bettie) and Susan, were twenty-one and nineteen in 1861. Lew was the next eldest, just shy of eighteen when war broke

out. He and Will attended Wabash College together for a year before Lew volunteered for service. Will continued at Wabash for another two years until he turned eighteen, joining the 13th Regiment of Indiana Volunteers in February 1864. Next came Henry, thirteen, who joined his mother in Gallatin, Tennessee, while she was a nurse; the eleven-year-old twins, Frank and Edwin (Ed); and finally, little Janie, just six years old in 1861.⁶⁸

Both sides of the family had an illustrious history with the state and nation. John's father, also named John Ketcham, hailed from Maryland. Soon after John's birth in 1782, his parents, Daniel and Keziah Pigmon Lewis Ketcham, moved the family to Shelby County, Kentucky, where Tawa Indians captured Daniel. After enduring a long march and nearly being burned to death, he escaped to Canada and eventually made his way back home. After John's marriage to Elizabeth Pearsy in 1803, and their relocation in 1811 to what is now Jackson County, Indiana, John joined several campaigns to fight and drive out the Native tribes living in what was still just Indiana Territory. In 1818, the now Colonel John moved his family to Monroe County, Indiana, near Bloomington, where he built a grist mill and designed the first courthouse. Later in life he became both a State Legislator and a trustee of Indiana Seminary, now Indiana University. John Lewis, his second son, born in 1810, became a lawyer and moved to Indianapolis, where he married Jane Merrill in 1836.⁶⁹

The Merrills had arrived in Indiana more recently. Jane's father, Samuel Merrill, was born in 1792 in Peacham, Vermont, to Jesse and Priscilla Kimball Merrill. Jesse

⁶⁸ 1860 Federal Population Census, Marion County, Indiana, Ward 7. Accessed through Ancestry.com at the Indiana State Library.

⁶⁹ "Reminiscences of Col. John Ketcham, of Monroe County, Indiana, by his pastor, Rev. T. M. Hopkins, of Bloomington, Indiana," 1866, Collection C240, Folder 2, Indiana University Bloomington Archives.

farmed, held several town offices, and was a member of the Vermont legislature for four years. Samuel, the second son, attended Dartmouth College but did not graduate, and by 1813 he had followed his older brother to York, Pennsylvania, to study law. Just three years later, in 1816, Samuel moved to Vevay, Indiana, where he was admitted to the bar, established his law practice, and married Lydia Jane Anderson in 1818. By 1821, Samuel was named the State Treasurer while the capital was still in Corydon, and he remained in that role when the capital moved to Indianapolis in 1824 and for the next ten years after the move. He is even said to have given Indianapolis its name, although there are competing opinions on this matter.⁷⁰ His career after this included serving as President of the State Bank of Indianapolis (1834-1844) and President of the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company (1844-1848). During his life Samuel was also the first president of the Temperance Society of Indianapolis, a trustee of Wabash College, where at least three of his grandsons attended school, and helped establish the Fourth Presbyterian Church.⁷¹ One of his daughters, Catharine (Kate), became the first Demia Butler Chair of English Literature at North Western Christian University (now known as Butler University), in 1869, and both she and Jane served as nurses during the Civil War.

⁷⁰ Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Indiana and the Indianans: A History of Aboriginal and territorial Indiana and the Century of Statehood*, 5 vols. (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1919), 364. Dunn writes of the “controversy” surrounding the origin of the name, in which Samuel Merrill either seconded a motion made by Judge Jeremiah Sullivan, originated the name himself (as supposedly announced by his daughter Jane), or simply participated in an amendment process related to the naming of the city.

⁷¹ “Samuel Merrill Eulogy,” 1855, Samuel Merrill Papers, M0204, Box 7, Folder 1, IHS.

Chapter 1: Duty in the Family

Men Young and Old

Each member of the Ketcham household was exposed to the war in a variety of ways, based on their age and gender. As a result, they understandably felt different calls to action with regards to the war effort. John stayed at home with his daughters and youngest sons. Lew, and eventually Will, joined the Union army. Will also attended college for three years before joining. His youngest brothers, Frank and Ed, and sister Janie likely attended school fairly regularly, although the topic was not discussed in the collection. The other boys, Lew and Henry, on the other hand, attended classes only briefly, or occasionally—Lew put in only a few months before joining his regiment and Henry was forced to take time off for various maladies. His sickness primarily took the form of terrible headaches. For example, in the summer of 1862, Henry spent time with family in Illinois (the town is not specified). John wrote to him:

it seems to us it would not be best for you to stay so long in Illinois. And that it may induce sickness if you should undertake to farm a piece of ground. You must remember that you have not been used to hard work, and especially in a hot summer's sun. Then, besides, you know you left school because you were so frequently unwell, had head-aches. Now, while I think a little outdoor work would be excellent for you, I do not think it would be wise for you to undertake to raise a crop.⁷²

A few years later John told Will, “We have taken Henry out of College. His headaches, constantly recurring, admonished us that his heath absolutely required it.”⁷³ Henry would ultimately finish school, but these headaches kept him from attending regularly not just during the war but throughout his life. Additionally, Henry spent time in Gallatin,

⁷² John Lewis Ketcham to Henry Ketcham, May 11, 1862, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, HIS.

⁷³ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, April 23, 1865, JLK, Box 2, Folder 4, IHS.

Tennessee, where his mother brought him when she decided to serve as a nurse. How did each member decide what courses of action to take during the war?

The men of the family, young and old, felt their own calls to action, although their activity varied widely. John, like some well-to-do men, believed his family's duty remained at home, as discussed by Wongsrichanalai—"older professionals argued that college-educated men should aid the Union war effort on the home front."⁷⁴ In a letter to Will, who was attending Wabash College, John provided a lengthy description of how joining a military group would distract him from his studies:

In one of your letters you ask whether you cannot join a Military Company. I do not know how better to answer than by saying I have a few suggestions to make, and that I want you to weigh them before you decide. 1st Then, every organized Company, must have its set times for drill etc. If you are a member of the Company you must attend, no matter whether you are pushed for time in your studies or not. And it will often happen that the muster will interfere with the studies. I am sure it would be so. Again, You have first[?] been put into a class Now ahead of you in every thing, and the probabilities are that all your energy will be required to maintain a fair standing in class. Whereas, the truth is, I want you to stand at the head of the class. Besides the time the muster would convene, there are a thousand other things connected with it that would make serious diversions from your studies. Again. If you belong to an organized Company, you will most probably, before very long – long before you graduate, find yourself in a trying position. Some of the Company will propose to go into some Regiment, and of course there will be a vote on it and a majority may deign[?] to go. Then all who refuse will be regarded as cowardly, or mean spirited.

John stated that it was far more important for the boy to stay in school, as an education would be more valuable in preventing a national crisis after the war than military service would be during it. John continued by stating that "the fact is, when parents send their sons to College it is that they may take the College Course, and leave other matters alone," and concluded this section of the letter by saying while it did not meet with his

⁷⁴ Wongsrichanalai, *Northern Character*, 101.

approval, he did not expressly prohibit Will from joining a company.⁷⁵ However, the message was clear: his sons should not concern themselves with the war effort and instead focus on school, as it would better serve them and the country in the future. His elder sons largely disagreed; although they enjoyed school and valued the education they were getting they believed their duty lay on the battlefield. In the end, both sons honored part of their father's wishes and remained in school until they turned eighteen before becoming soldiers, which happened toward the beginning of the war for Lew and near the end for Will.

The respect they showed to their father in doing so was noteworthy, considering that historians know that many younger boys lied about their ages to become soldiers. For example, James Marten writes "thousands of underage boys ended up in the armies of both sides," while Maureen Manjerovic and Michael J. Budds acknowledge that boys "under the legal minimum age of eighteen. . . made up the largest group of soldiers in both armies," albeit primarily as drummer boys.⁷⁶ This conclusion may be overstated, at least as far as Indiana was concerned. According to the *Report of the Adjutant General*, after the war only about 904 of the more than 118,000 Indiana soldiers were under the age of eighteen.⁷⁷ However, this number reflects only the known ages, and does not take into account those who may have lied about their age. Lew and Will could hypothetically have counted themselves among this number but chose to honor their father's wishes and remain in school until they were of enlistment age.

⁷⁵ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, October 23, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

⁷⁶ Marten, *The Children's Civil War*, 166; Maureen Manjerovic and Michael J. Budds, "More Than a Drummer Boy's War: A Historical View of Musicians in the American Civil War," *College Music Symposium* 42 (2002): 122.

⁷⁷ "Document No. 14: Height and Ages of Indiana Soldiers," *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana* (Indianapolis: State Printer, 1869), 110.

John, the family patriarch, wished the war had never started, although he supported the Union cause. In a letter sent to Will early in the war, John discussed his displeasure with the earlier Mexican War and the South's agenda:

The U.S. were not justified in its war on Mexico. It was a Southern scheme to get more slave territory in order to keep the Southern majority in the U.S. Senate. The South ever since saw that the rapidly increasing population of the North would multiply the representation in the House overwhelmingly – but if they can't multiply the Southern states [and] it would give them the Senate at last, with a chance for the President.... I have an alter at home [?] of the whole Southern movement in that Mexican War. I know it was solely for territory – and was a part of the plot of Calhoun and [??] and others to maintain a slavery in the ascendant, and which plan has developed into this wicked Rebellion. They failed to rule and therefore rebelled.⁷⁸

In a letter to his wife a little more than a year later, John further expressed his distaste for the South:

The South talks as if the North had injured them! But they can't specify a single act. Not one. True, occasionally a negroe has run away – and sometimes stopped in the north, but generally has gone on to Canada. But that was the act of the negroe, and not of the North... Surely that was no cause of war. No. No... My heart bleeds at the suffering these misguided men have brought on themselves and families, as well as on us.⁷⁹

The man clearly disagreed with the South's goals and with the spread of slavery, and he openly expressed his support of the Union's approach to them. For example, he wrote in 1863, "I am one who believes fully that the Proclamation – which was issued, thank God, on New Years – will accomplish much for our Cause."⁸⁰ He also stated, "I do hope that slavery will be doomed to die – it being the Original cause of all our troubles now upon us."⁸¹ He backed the Union's effort to keep the nation together because he did not believe

⁷⁸ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, November 20, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

⁷⁹ John Lewis Ketcham to Jane Merrill Ketcham, January 24, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

⁸⁰ John Lewis Ketcham to Jane Merrill Ketcham, January 3, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

⁸¹ John Lewis Ketcham to Lew Ketcham, September 5, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

the war was necessary in the first place, and he wanted the army to squash the South's advances. Despite these views, and the support he showed his wife and sons after they had gone to the front, he certainly would have preferred everyone to remain at home and have a less risky engagement with the war effort.

A further example of this desire to keep the family together came in the form of a letter written to his sister-in-law Kate in 1861. At this time, and for more than a year prior, Lew and Will had been on a trip abroad with Kate and her sister Mina. With war on the horizon, John requested that they bring the boys home. While he did not specify a reason, his request most likely came from a proactive effort in case a blockade in the Atlantic, or other unforeseen circumstances, should keep them from returning.⁸² With the boys at home, he may have felt assured that he could keep them safe. But he soon saw his daughters visiting army camps, his youngest sons creating their own companies, his oldest sons enlisting, or asking to enlist, in regiments, and his wife leaving home to serve as a nurse. The man must have been stretched to the breaking point from early in the war, as he worried about keeping his family close and safe, and he would not see relief from his dilemma until its end.

Regardless of his view on going to the battle lines, John encouraged and partook in some home front activity, most notably in his crusade against women wearing silk clothing. During a series of meetings in May 1864, John spoke to women's groups about the merits of wearing domestic, homespun dresses rather than foreign silks, as the money saved could be put towards supporting the Union Army. These groups were part of a larger association called the Ladies' National Covenant, which was established by the

⁸² John Lewis Ketcham to Kate Merrill, February 2, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

wives of politicians in Washington, D.C., with the express purpose of discouraging the purchase of imported clothes.⁸³ Although some, including these women and John, considered it a valiant effort, many found it ridiculous or inadequate. Over the next few months, the Indianapolis *Daily Sentinel* (the state Democratic organ), in their City Items section, referenced women's outfits and Ketcham in brief comments, such as: "A lady was seen yesterday on Washington street [sic] arrayed in silk. Where was Ketcham?"⁸⁴ Will also gently attacked his father for his ideas. In a letter dated June 20, 1864, after joining the 13th Indiana Regiment, Will wrote that an unidentified activity would "do soldiers a sight more good than wearing 'Calico' dresses and 'shoestring ribbon.'" He went on to say that doing so was acceptable as it showed that peoples' "hearts are in the cause and that is enough."⁸⁵ These remarks show not only the disagreements between father and son, but also the occasional discord between soldiers and the home front. Several scholars have discussed how soldiers often resented family and friends back home for not doing enough to support the war effort.⁸⁶

Regardless of this perception, many on the home front believed they were doing whatever they could to assist the Union army, and those that did not were marked as cowards. Gallman describes the satirical images present in popular culture throughout the Civil War. These stereotypes identified men who were interested in their own amusement

⁸³ "The Ladies' National Covenant," *New York Times*, May 5, 1864.

⁸⁴ City Items, *Daily Sentinel*, June 2, 1864.

⁸⁵ Will Ketcham to John Lewis Ketcham, June 20, 1864. JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

⁸⁶ Ramold, *Across the Divide*, 1; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 131. On the very first page of his introduction, Ramold writes: "Soldiers became irate about civilian actions that failed to support wartime measures of which the army approved, or who engaged in activities the army perceived as against its interest." On the opposite side of a possible range of emotions, McPherson writes "But without a firm base of support in the homes and communities from which these citizen soldiers came, their morale would have crumbled."

despite others' suffering, or evaded conscription in a variety of ways, most notably through self-mutilation.⁸⁷ Men were also labeled cowards if they stayed home for a wife or sweetheart. A woman's duty to the nation also factored in here. Women should accept and encourage their menfolk to fight for the nation. In this instance, however, the man was looked down on for using his wife or mother as an excuse to remain at home.⁸⁸

Those men who had valid reasons to stay at home—such as for legitimate handicaps, or to care for relatives or a farm—were acceptable to the army as long as they still did their part. A farmer, for example, contributed to the war effort by sending his surplus crops to the government. Moreover, men who were too old to fight, like John Ketcham, made a point of speaking to the public about how they could support the troops. While soldiers may not have seen the wearing of domestically produced clothes as the most critical means of aid, it could still be a legitimate form of support.

The older boys were clearly no exception, thinking that their duty involved more active participation. Their entry into the war was a slow one, however, stemming from the fact that both the Ketcham and Merrill families greatly valued education and had the means to afford it. Education was closely linked to the sense of duty men specifically felt toward the Civil War—Wongsrichanalai described how college-educated, northeastern fathers believed a college-education enabled them to remain at home, while their sons thought their education prepared them for leadership on the field.⁸⁹ This sentiment was shared by the so-called gentlemen or “elite social classes” in Foote's *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*.⁹⁰ Prior to the election of Abraham Lincoln and the secession crisis, Will and

⁸⁷ Gallman, *Defining Duty*, 13 and 143-53.

⁸⁸ Gallman, *Defining Duty*, 159.

⁸⁹ Wongsrichanalai, *Northern Character*, 101.

⁹⁰ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 122.

Lew studied abroad with two of their maternal aunts, Kate and Mina Merrill. Kate was additionally noteworthy for becoming one of the first female university professors in the United States, after accepting a position at North Western Christian University (now Butler University) in 1869, and writing *The Soldier of Indiana in the War for the Union*. Her admirers founded a literary society in Indianapolis and named it in her honor. She took her nephews to Europe with the purpose of giving them, and herself, a broader education and to experience other cultures. This adventure ultimately took them to Stuttgart, Germany, where the group stayed for several months.⁹¹

In letters between Kate and John, the importance they placed on the boys' schooling became apparent, as did their opinions about each boy's abilities. Kate described Will as "lazy and capricious," but full of promise if he would put his mind to his studies, while she said Lew was prone to "slowness."⁹² Of Will, she specifically wrote, "He is now fourteen years old and it is time the man was developing in him. . . He gets up when he chooses unless I make him rise early; he eats what he pleases or rather what pleases him." Further, in a bit of unconscious foreshadowing, she said "He needs discipline, almost military discipline." Kate assured John that the boy was not bad, but that he simply needed to grow up and get serious about his studies. The topic of the boys' behavior was likely a frequent topic of discussion between the two, as John had written to his sons three months earlier to encourage them to be men by focusing on their studies and not giving in to impulses. Like Kate, he specifically addressed Will in saying, "I hope, Willie, you are getting more thoughtful – more manly – more steadily under the

⁹¹ Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 655-6. Thornbrough writes that Merrill's volumes, in addition to *Indiana's Roll of Honor*, are "the only comprehensive histories of the part played by Indiana's soldiers in the Civil War," as of 1965.

⁹² Catharine Merrill to John Lewis Ketcham, July 10, 1860, JLK, Box 1, Folder 3, IHS.

controlling power of principles. And less inclined to yield to impulses.” At the end of the letter he also said, “No two boys in Marion County, have had, take them altogether, better opportunities than you two. Especially you. Wake up to earnest things!”⁹³

Evidence of the family’s opinions of the boys’ education can be seen in several other letters. For instance, Kate wrote to former Indiana governor Joseph A. Wright, “We should long ago have gone back to Berlin or Halle if the boys had not been doing so well in their studies.”⁹⁴ She also wrote to her sister Julia about trying to get Will into a higher level class—“out of the third into the fourth class where his lively brain would find enough work without Dr. Maisch’s assistance”—despite knowing that they would be returning to Indiana just a few months later.⁹⁵ Much later in the war, John wrote to Will, “I think he [Henry] and Lewie will go on together most admirably. I would like to have them graduate at home and then go to one of the best Eastern Colleges. You might, if you like, graduate at Wabash, as I believe was your plan, and then graduate also at one of the best Eastern Colleges.”⁹⁶ Their schooling after the war is also notable: Lew attended Williams College in Massachusetts, earned his degree in 1869, and spent his career in banking and architectural iron works; Will attended Dartmouth College (starting as a junior in 1865), received his degree in 1867, and became not just a lawyer, but the Attorney General of Indiana from 1895-1899.⁹⁷

⁹³ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, April 28, 1860, JLK, Box 1, Folder 3, IHS.

⁹⁴ Catharine Merrill to Hon. Joseph A. Wright, January 18, 1861, in Katharine Merrill Graydon, *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters* (Greenfield, IN: The Mitchell Company, 1934), 176. Linda C. Gugin and James E. St. Clair, eds., *The Governors of Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2006), 112-123. Wright was a lawyer, state representative (1832), U.S. Representative (1843-45), Governor of Indiana (1849-57), and U.S. Senator (1862-63).

⁹⁵ Catharine Merrill to Julia Merrill, April 11, 1861, *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters*, 179.

⁹⁶ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, April 23, 1865, JLK, Box 2, Folder 4, IHS.

⁹⁷ Barnes and Barnes, *500 Strong*, 210-211. In a letter written to Will shortly after he started at Dartmouth, John also wrote: “Your first letter was recd and gave me great pleasure. It is not a

This insight into the Ketchams reveals an intriguing detail about the boys that would be important after the war began. Based on descriptions of each son, and their careers after the war, it may be surmised that Will was the “golden child” of the family, the son who would follow in his father’s and grandfather’s footsteps to become a prominent public citizen. Even seven years before the start of the war, Kate made a point of writing to an eight-year-old Will urging him to be “a very good boy” and that he “try to learn.”⁹⁸ While this comment is vague, both excerpts suggest that from a young age and well into his education, Will was noticeably a strong student.

Lew, on the other hand, although not necessarily any less intelligent than his brother, was perhaps not thought of as a scholar, given the lack of information about his schooling compared to Will’s. The most that was said of him, in the letters available, was that he was prone to slowness, as expressed in an amusing anecdote from Kate: “I said to him the morning we were leaving as we were on the depot: ‘Lew did you see to the passports.’ ‘Ma’am.’ ‘Did you see to the passports?’ ‘To what?’ ‘The passports.’ ‘Passports?’ In a long tone as if he had never heard of such a thing as a passport.”⁹⁹ Of course, he was not always slow; in another brief story Kate wrote of Will’s “careless disobedience” and said, “For instance he has been three days in learning a lesson in the Bible that Lew learned in an hour.” He was smart, and was still encouraged to get an education. However, when it came time to send a son off to war there does not seem to be as much reluctance on John’s part regarding Lew’s participation, unlike his attitude toward Will. It is also important to note that the family donated to the Indiana Historical

small thing to be worthy[?] in the Junior Class in the College that trained [unknown word],” John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, October 8, 1865, JLK, Box 2, Folder 4, IHS.

⁹⁸ Catharine Merrill to Will Ketcham, Feb 22, 1854, *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters*, 81.

⁹⁹ Catharine Merrill to John Lewis Ketcham, July 10, 1860, JLK, Box 1, Folder 3, IHS.

Society far more letters that were exchanged with Will than with Lew. This could be due to any number of reasons, particularly that soldiers could not easily hold on to letters from home when they moved camps or fought in battle.

The letter between John and his sons in April 1860 also introduced what manhood meant to the Ketchams. He encouraged his sons to “be men” by providing a few examples and references related to limiting alcohol consumption, gaining an education, and generally conquering their impulses. His opinions align with the characterizations provided by Foote as many men, particularly those who called themselves gentlemen, associated manliness with abstaining from vices. Their sense of manhood was also based on “domestic virtues, moral character, and proper manners.”¹⁰⁰ John discussed this at length when telling his sons a story:

I knew a young man at College by the name of Kyle. He was the son of a carpenter. His father was only able, by economy and hard work to educate him. He was his only son. That young man occasionally took a little spirit[?]. Scarcely any one remembers he touched liquor. Indeed it was rare he did. But he got a taste for it at College, and after he studied law and went into business he became a confirmed sot, and dashed all hopes of his self denying and indulgent father.¹⁰¹

He followed this up by saying, “I feel a gracious assurance that no son of mine will so provoke God – so disgrace his family, and so ruin his own body and soul.” In the same letter, John also touched on the moral character his boys should adopt in the form of principles. He wrote:

You ought now to begin, thoroughly, to conquer yourself. If you feel lazy in the morning – Conquer the sluggard. If strongly bent on having your own way, conquer self and let others, or principles have their way. Be earnest. You must be a man in six years more! And how great is the work to be ready to fully meet manly duties. Don’t waste your time with trifles,

¹⁰⁰ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 6-8.

¹⁰¹ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, April 28, 1860, JLK, Box 1, Folder 3, IHS.

but grapple with your studies. Master the German and French while you have such a grand opportunity.

Given this advice, and aligning with Foote's descriptions, the Ketchams would certainly have considered themselves to be gentlemen and attempted to uphold such values. However, despite this guidance, they still wrestled with their respective senses of duty during the Civil War and the actions they should take.

Upon Lew's and Will's return to Indianapolis in the summer of 1861, John and Jane sent the boys to Crawfordsville to attend Wabash College, although Lew soon joined the 70th Indiana Regiment in July 1862. His mother remembered, "Lew was one of the first. Will wanted to, but his father said, 'If you were eighteen, I should not say a word, but go back to college and wait.'"¹⁰² Jane acknowledged that her husband likely said this in the hope that the war would be over by then and Will would never have to join. Even before this interaction, however, Will and John appear to have butted heads on the topic of becoming a soldier at least once before, in October 1861. Although we do not have Will's original letter, his father made it clear that his son had broached the topic of going to war, or at least participating from school. John started his message by saying Will himself had to decide whether to join a regiment, but he described how Will would therefore be unable to focus on his studies. The tone of the letter changed into a reprimand towards the end, however, as John insisted that it was Will's duty to stay in school:

You ask how much you and Lew ought to give in the movement of the Town to raise contributions for the soldiers? I wish I could get you to understand clearly what my purpose was and is in sending you to College. It is that you may get a thorough Education, and thus prepare you for great

¹⁰² Jane Merrill Ketcham, "Reminiscences of Jane Merrill Ketcham," c. 1898, JLK, BV1046, IHS, 96.

usefulness.... You are not supposed to have any money except what your parents furnish you for your necessary expenses at college.

His parents paid for him to get an education, so he should stay in school. Additionally, John referenced a “patriotic meeting” Will had described to him, but implied that it was something his sons should stay away from. He wrote, “It may have been a little funny. I am sure it was a little riotous. And by the way, those boy Military Companies, and boy meetings are very much prone in that direction.”¹⁰³ The way that John words his analysis, including his decision to underline the qualifier “boy,” suggests that he did not think highly of such immature events. His sons were in college and therefore considered men and should behave as such. John’s use of the word “boy” highlights that it was not a manly pursuit and therefore not worth their time.

Many other Americans of his generation, not to mention several University of Michigan students, agreed with John’s assertion in the above quote that school would “prepare you for great usefulness.” As mentioned, Mujic described how students at the University of Michigan argued “that their education... would serve as preparation for their future leadership in the nation,” and “believed that the best citizens in any profession were active, well-educated, political participants.”¹⁰⁴ These discussions show the differing senses of duty felt by American men in the northern states. For many young people, like Will, duty meant becoming a soldier. For others in Will’s generation, and their parents, however, their duty was to themselves, their families, and their homes first, where they could aid the war effort without going into battle.

¹⁰³ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, October 23, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹⁰⁴ Mujic, “Ours is the Harder Lot,” 35.

Once on the battlefield Will had conflicting opinions of his experience, as did other soldiers—they were homesick, but also pleased to be doing what they believed was their duty to the nation. In a letter sent a few months after he joined his regiment, Will described a scene in which some of his compatriots were preparing to head back home:

We have been relieved and brought back to the same old position we occupied at the beginning of the campaign. Those of the regiment who did not reenlist went home yesterday, taking the majority of the men with them. In fact they took away more and left more than we had with us on active duty. When we were relieved from the front the men came to it in crowds.

One of those who went home let me have this paper as he would not need it and having nothing to do I thought the time could not be more profitably employed than in writing home. When the boys came to go, and Goodbyes were said I began to think of home: its pleasures, comforts and the loved ones there, of the warm welcome they would receive, it completely unmanned me and when Bishop, Dr. Craig and others came and asked me what they should tell the folks if they should see anyone I could not trust myself to say anything for fear I should begin crying right there. I went down into the swamp back of Camp and took a good cry. I did not regret coming into the army and in fact like it a great deal better than I ever expected before I came in but somehow coming to take a good thought of home the army seems very uninviting. Everything seems so heartless here. If a soldier is killed his best friends will say ‘Poor Fellow’ and never think of him again; if wounded, no matter how severely, ‘Lucky Dog, he is good for this campaign!’

By this time Will had not only seen battle multiple times but his regiment had recently, and temporarily, merged with the Army of the Potomac. He described this experience excitedly by saying, “I have been in the last few days since we joined the ‘Army of the Potomac’ more sanguine of success than at any time since I joined the army. The Army has implicit confidence in Gen. Grant.”¹⁰⁵ Enlisting was precisely what Will had wanted for three years and while he was certainly missing the comforts of home and recognizing the insensitive tendencies of war, he was still thrilled to be supporting his nation.

¹⁰⁵ Will Ketcham to John Lewis Ketcham, June 20, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

McPherson describes similar sentiments in *For Cause and Comrades*. He states that “few Civil War soldiers were eager to see it [battle] again,” after the first time, and many went home.¹⁰⁶ However, there were also those who, like Will, continued to fight. They may not have always wanted to, but their sense of duty encouraged them to keep fighting despite the heartlessness and uninviting nature of life as a soldier.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, soldiers had many opinions regarding the draft, and the Ketchams were no exception. For example, in the winter of 1864-65, Will and his father sent letters to each other regarding the topic. In November, Will discussed how he disliked New Yorkers for rioting against the draft and stated that “we would have mowed them like grass,” if given the chance.¹⁰⁷ A few months later, in February, John wrote to his son, “The draft is post poned because volunteering is so high. Indiana will soon have filled her quota. I wish the draft had gone on. Whenever volunteering fails speedily to fill up the quota the draft is to go forward immediately.”¹⁰⁸ This shows two views about one event, from not only the battlefield but the home front, as well. Father and son shared similar opinions about the draft, and were able to discuss this from their different vantage points. This shared opinion likely brought the two together, considering their disagreements about what duty should mean.

As for the three younger boys, none of them got the chance to become soldiers. They may have had dreams of joining a regiment, as the war dragged on longer than anyone initially predicted, but at the war’s close Henry was still a year shy of eighteen, while Frank and Ed were just fourteen. Henry was close to the war in Gallatin, when his

¹⁰⁶ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 33.

¹⁰⁷ Will Ketcham to John Lewis Ketcham, November 12, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

¹⁰⁸ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, February 15, 1865, JLK, Box 2, Folder 4, IHS.

mother took him with her in an effort to show him why he *should not* be a soldier. In her reminiscences, Jane wrote “if I should take Henry he would see so much he would never wish to ‘be in.’” Although she did not say so explicitly, she likely hoped that the visible, often graphic, wounds might convince him that being in battle was not glorious. Instead, she described Henry as being “taken with the novelty of camp life,” helping with odd jobs like chopping wood and making canes at the camp where soldiers, including his brother Lew, were stationed nearby. Ultimately, even if Henry was not turned off the idea of being a soldier, a bout of homesickness soon sent him home, leaving Jane pleased.¹⁰⁹

The two youngest boys back home, while not directly taking part in much wartime activity, found their own ways to interact with it. In his previously mentioned book, Marten discusses how children were exposed to Civil War ideology through many media, including books and concerts, as well as at school. These media were often instructive, designed “to instill a resolute patriotism in their readers by defining northern war aims, establishing the centrality of slavery as a cause of the war, and recognizing the humanity of the former slaves.”¹¹⁰ He described how children often contributed to the war effort by making lint that would be packed into wounds or selling toys and needlework to raise money to support hospitals, soldiers’ homes, or other causes.¹¹¹ Aside from these contributions, many young boys also “mustered their own military companies, learned the manual of arms, fought imaginary battles, and played ‘hospital.’”¹¹² In other words, they pretended to be brave soldiers fighting for their country.

¹⁰⁹ Jane Merrill Ketcham “Reminiscences,” JLK, BV1046, IHS, 98.

¹¹⁰ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 40.

¹¹¹ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 177-78.

¹¹² Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 158.

Frank's and Ed's activity aligned with the typical behavior of children across the nation, north and south alike, although this was not extensively documented. Early in the war, in a letter to Will while he was in Germany, Ed described buying paper and envelopes and selling them to the soldiers at a nearby camp:

I asked Ma if I couldn't go to Camp Morton to sell writing-paper. When she said 'yes,' I put off... to the book store to get some papers to sell. I got some like this I am now writing on, and some 'Death to Traitors,' besides some envelopes of both kind.... When I saw the solders eating their dinners I sat down and ate my dinner too. I counted up my money and found that I had sixty five cents.¹¹³

While this letter serves as the only specific mention of the twins encountering soldiers, it is not difficult to imagine them interacting often. By looking at a map of wartime Indianapolis, created by Colonel Henry B. Carrington, we can see that army camps surrounded Indianapolis, and soldiers were housed in the city (see Appendix A). Additionally, it is important to note that the Ketchams lived at Delaware and Merrill Streets, just southeast of the railroad depot (located due south of the circle on Louisiana Street; see Appendix B). They lived close enough to the depot and to various soldiers' rest homes to witness the flurry of activity as soldiers left town or arrived. A short ride could take them to either the center of town or the outer edges of the city to the camps.

The boys also wrote about their play-acting as soldiers. Ed wrote to an aunt in 1861, "Frank and I have got a soldiers company . . . and we have got wooden guns and some haf [sic] got iron bayonets. . . We march from three in the afternoon till half past six o'clock in the eavning [sic]."¹¹⁴ Based on these accounts and another, where Ed took a horse and traveled around fifty miles alone to his grandfather's house in Bloomington,

¹¹³ Ed Ketcham to Lew and Will Ketcham, May 15, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹¹⁴ Ed Ketcham to Aunt Mary, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

the boys clearly did almost anything they pleased.¹¹⁵ As Marten succinctly states, “even if they wanted to, children could not ignore the war.”¹¹⁶ Between possibly participating in school demonstrations (as described earlier) and the flurry of military activity throughout town, the Ketchams could not have ignored it, either.

Men’s activity during the war was clearly varied. There were older, married men who joined the army, but soldiers were mostly young, single men like Lew and Will. Even amongst these younger individuals, however, many chose to stay home and support the nation in non-combat ways alongside the older generation. Additionally, even those who might have wanted to go into battle, but could not, found ways to engage with the war effort. The Ketchams exhibited all of these examples—John, the patriarch, remained at home and did what he could to support the war effort, even if he found the war itself ugly and distasteful. Two of his sons got the education John insisted they receive, at least to a degree, but still joined regiments to fulfill their own sense of duty. And his three youngest sons remained occupied in small ways, by interacting with the soldiers near them both at home and at camp (for Henry) and otherwise acting out their desire to go to war.

Women at Home and Away

Despite evidence that suggests the Ketchams were intimately involved in the war effort—Will and Lew serving as soldiers, Jane as a nurse, Frank and Ed selling stationery, and Bettie and Sue participating in relief work—it is unknown to just what

¹¹⁵ John Lewis Ketcham to Jane Merrill Ketcham, January 3, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS. John wrote that “Eddie took the horse and put out and never stopped till he got to his grandpa.” Jane also reflected on this episode in her reminiscences, BV1046, 113-114, under the headline “Boyish Freaks.”

¹¹⁶ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 21.

extent the family at home participated in it. In his correspondence, John wrote little about his own activities, focusing instead on asking how his sons and wife were doing and asking if they needed anything. Prior to becoming a soldier, John told Will not to partake in any demonstrations while at school in Crawfordsville, leading him to focus on describing his studies in letters home instead and leaving no record of any potential war-related college activities.¹¹⁷ The younger boys—Henry, Frank, and Ed—wrote very few letters, leaving much to the imagination. Aside from their stories early in the war of serving in boy companies with their friends and selling stationery to soldiers, little else is known about what the Ketchams at home did during the Civil War.

Even less is known about the Ketcham daughters, although the letters suggest that they, and their mother, supported the soldiers in ways that they found meaningful. In a letter written to her brothers and aunts while they were in Europe, Susan described the “spirit of patriotism” that she, Bettie, and their friends felt in the early days of the war. She wrote, “we could rest neither day nor night thinking of something to do for the soldiers.”¹¹⁸ The women settled on creating pincushions, made with red, white, and blue ribbon and embroidered with sayings such as “the Union forever” and “a little shield from Southern shot.” They also made several cakes, which they then took to the soldiers at both “the ‘Barracks’” and Camp Sullivan (located on what is now Military Park at the corner of West and New York Streets).¹¹⁹ In the letter, Susan told her family that during each excursion they watched the soldiers performing drills, which she described as “very

¹¹⁷ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, October 23, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹¹⁸ Susan Ketcham to Will and Lew Ketcham and Kate and Mina Merrill, May 24, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹¹⁹ Camp Sullivan is barely marked on the far left side of map in Appendix A below; five blocks due west of “The Circle” in the center, with the canal going through it. In Appendix B it is marked as “State Fair & Military Parade Grounds.”

pretty and so odd,” and finished the tale by describing Camp Sullivan as “the pleasantest looking camp.”¹²⁰ Few other descriptions of such activity remain in the Ketcham collection, although given this early expression of aid it may be safe to assume that Bettie and Sue continued making items for the soldiers and visiting them for the duration of the war.

Few other details of the girls’ activities were provided after this account. In *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters*, Graydon mentioned that Kate, upon returning from her trip to Europe, once again took up teaching. In her absence her niece, Bettie Ketcham, had assisted in running the school, and may have continued in this endeavor after Kate returned. According to the exposition in the text, they and the girls “in fervid industry sewed and knit, made jellies and carried fruits to the sick soldiers in Camp Morton.”¹²¹ The girls also apparently wrote to their brothers, particularly Will, after they enlisted. However, aside from the letter sent from Sue to her family while they were in Stuttgart, the only surviving letters in the collection were sent from Will to his sisters back home; any letters sent from them to Lew or Will no longer remain.

Despite the lack of a physical record, the girls certainly wrote to Will frequently. In May 1864, Will wrote to one of his sisters (the salutation merely says “dear Sister”), “You needn’t be afraid of telling me anything uninteresting about Mary B & Capt C or ‘any other man.’ Everything in Indianapolis, man woman or child, quarrels, lovemaking or any thing else you can possibly write about I am intensely interested in.”¹²² In June of that same year he wrote to Bettie acknowledging a complaint she wrote about not having

¹²⁰ Susan Ketcham to Will and Lew Ketcham and Kate and Mina Merrill, May 24, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹²¹ Graydon, *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters*, 303.

¹²² Will Ketcham to “dear Sister,” May 1, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

heard from him for a month, thus proving that he did indeed receive at least one letter from her.¹²³ Janie also sent one very short note that exists in the collection accompanying a valentine, in which she wrote, “I hope that when next winter comes you and brother Lew will be home and there will be peace in the land.”¹²⁴ Each of these family members likely had an intimate knowledge of the war, based on the number of return letters Will sent to his mother and sisters with details of his activity, but we know little of what the women may have been doing beyond his sisters’ early fervor, as expressed in Sue’s letter, and Jane’s nursing.

Among several other possible duties, such as sewing bandages or other care items, collecting foodstuffs, or taking over vacant male jobs, many women found themselves wanting to take a more active role on the home front and therefore became nurses. Women often saw their duty to the Union as one of support, but some women, such as Jane Merrill Ketcham, felt that this service was not enough.¹²⁵ At the beginning of the war she participated in similar home front activity as did her daughters, as described in the reminiscences she gave to Will and his family for Christmas in 1898 (should her grandchildren want to learn about the “olden days”). She wrote about how she “had worked in the kitchen putting up quantities of jelly, marmalade, pickles of every variety, anything that could be a relish with their bacon, beans, hard tack and rice.” She also knitted, particularly socks, and relayed a brief story about how “one Sabbath evening some of the family happened to look at me, and there I was knitting as on week days. They all exclaimed. I said I could not sit still and think of the soldiers’ bare, cold feet.”¹²⁶

¹²³ Will Ketcham to Bettie Ketcham, June 28, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

¹²⁴ Janie Ketcham to Will Ketcham, February 19, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

¹²⁵ Silber, *Daughters of the Union*, 28, 194.

¹²⁶ Jane Merrill Ketcham, “Reminiscences,” JLK, BV1046, IHS, 97-8.

There is no evidence that she participated in any formal institutional organizations, such as the United States Sanitary Commission, although organizations like the Commission collected food and clothing from women like Jane and her daughters.

Jane did what she could to support the war effort from home, but the feeling of not being able to sit still stuck with her. She was eager to do more to help the soldiers who had gone into battle, and she soon decided to serve as a nurse:

When Dr. Bullard returned from Gallatin, told his story of the suffering and asked, 'Are there no two who will go?' Miss Bates responded at once. I pondered over it, leave such a family; but how many husbands had left their wives and children; how many sons had left their homes. Yes, I could go.¹²⁷

Her drive to action reflects that of Louisa May Alcott, as described in *Hospital Sketches*, although Alcott was unmarried for the duration of her life. A fictionalized autobiography of Alcott's time as a nurse, the story began with the statement, "I want something to do." A scene follows in which Alcott and her family and friends discuss options that might cure her boredom, and she settles on nursing as it will best support the nation.¹²⁸ While such a mundane conversation does not immediately exhibit the drive to be helpful, a closer reading of the whole text reveals that was precisely the drive both Alcott and Jane felt. They, and many other women, wanted something to do that would support soldiers, and nursing presented the most direct method. Women also likely equated this task with their more traditional roles as wives and mothers, which made the task and their absence from home more palatable. Their duties to their families were as caretakers, and with

¹²⁷ Jane Merrill Ketcham, "Reminiscences," JLK, BV1046, 97-98. "Miss Bates" was Bettie Bates (1828-1873), a friend of the Merrill sisters who served as a nurse in Tennessee and Kentucky. She is also mentioned in *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters* on many pages, most notably pages 306 and 313 in relation to her nursing.

¹²⁸ Louisa May Alcott, *Hospital Sketches* (Boston: James Redpath, 1863).

many of their male relatives outside of their reach, women may have felt a drive to feel like they were helping their own menfolk, even if only indirectly.¹²⁹

Jane may have felt that her duty fell somewhere between helping her own family and helping the larger population. When she became a nurse in late 1862, only one of her sons had become a soldier. The others remained safe at home, as did her husband. Most likely, she simply felt a call to serve the nation in whatever capacity she could, even if it meant being nearly 300 miles from most of her family. However, there was also likely a drive to stay close to the only family member not at home. As a nurse, Jane was stationed in Gallatin, Tennessee, the same city where Lew happened to be in camp. She did not seem to have been assigned there, nor did she necessarily choose to be there because of her son. She described in her reminiscences a Dr. Bullard simply asking for volunteers to go to Gallatin after observing the suffering there.¹³⁰ She also brought along Henry in an attempt to proactively keep him out of the war. Lew was already enlisted and Will was outspoken about his desire to eventually join a regiment. While no one expected or wanted the war to last long, and Henry was well under the age of eighteen, he would have been the next son to come of age. Jane hoped being in a war hospital would prove to Henry that the front lines were far from where he wanted to be.¹³¹ Her plan worked to a certain extent, as Henry soon went home, but his decision was due to homesickness rather than any discomfort with observing war injuries.

While most Americans had strong opinions regarding their own responsibilities to the nation during the Civil War, they were also often outspoken about how they believed

¹²⁹ Silber, *Daughters of the Union*, 202.

¹³⁰ Jane Merrill Ketcham, "Reminiscences," JLK, BV1046, IHS, 97-98.

¹³¹ Jane Merrill Ketcham, "Reminiscences," JLK, BV1046, IHS, 98.

others should behave. Union soldiers' perceptions of their cowardly home front compatriots and John's encouragement that women wear domestic clothing are examples of how some wanted to alter others' behaviors. Both of these examples can be applied, directly or indirectly, to the Ketchams' approach to women's activity at home. Although many women felt compelled to help in a variety of ways, and many men supported their efforts, Will and John did not support Jane's serving as a nurse, after a time. In February 1863, Kate wrote to a Miss Guilford, an old friend, that John "submits with the utmost cheerfulness" while his wife was in Tennessee.¹³² Her use of the word "submits" is telling, as it suggests that John did not entirely agree with the decision but rather bowed to his wife's will. This deference demonstrates a distinct aspect of the Ketcham family, considering Etcheson's observation of marital relationships at the time. She writes that while couples "increasingly prized companionate marriage" and saw each other, to an extent, as equal partners, women were still expected to obey their husbands.¹³³ The roles were reversed in the Ketcham household, as John instead deferred to Jane's decision.

Despite John's submission and the outward signs of approval the family showed, they were not quite so obliging behind closed doors. In December 1862, for example, Will wrote to his mother shortly after returning home for Christmas about the apparent mayhem he encountered: "Came home and found everything unlike home... No boy at home but Frank no mother. No order. Pa not caring how things went, taking no interest in anything, and despairing of our course. It does not seem as much like home as my own." He further described Janie as becoming "more saucy and tomboyish everyday" and Frank

¹³² Catharine Merrill to Miss Guilford, February 13, 1863, in *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters*, 313.

¹³³ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 51.

and Ed growing “more ungovernable in temper,” and concluded with the sentiment “I think the most foolish and uncalled for thing you ever did was to go as a nurse.... The best thing you can do is to come home as soon as possible.”¹³⁴ John shared similar, but less forceful, sentiments about a week later, writing, “how happy would we be with our loved ones at home!” and stating, “I pray God to spare you to rule by love in the Household again.”¹³⁵ We can see here how the Ketcham men, most notably John and Will, viewed women’s duties during the war—their responsibilities remained at home with the family, rather than contributing closer to the front lines.

These letters from her husband and son may have prompted Jane to come home sooner than she would have chosen herself. In January, after receiving Will’s letter but before John had sent his, Jane wrote to her daughters:

I will say first what is most on my heart. I cannot help at times tremble for fear you and Pa are not as put easy[?] with my little boys as I would like. I cannot bear the thought of them being punished while I am gone. Can’t you manage to get along pleasantly, well, with them? If not I will [unknown word] all the work here and come home, for my duty certainly is first to them. I think you ought undertake[?] the circumstances, to be willing to stay your patience, ingenuity[?], every power you have to help this along.¹³⁶

Jane was clearly deeply affected by hearing how things were going in her absence, and returned home within a month or two of sending this letter. Her words help to describe her divided allegiance and suggest that duty to home pulled ahead of duty to nation, eventually. She specifically wrote that her duty was with her family first, but in the following statement she implores her daughters to keep things moving along smoothly so she can continue fulfilling her duty to the nation. The collection includes a few more

¹³⁴ Will Ketcham to Jane Merrill Ketcham, December 28, 1862, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

¹³⁵ John Lewis Ketcham to Jane Merrill Ketcham, January 3, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

¹³⁶ Jane Merrill Ketcham to Bettie and Sue Ketcham, January 2, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

letters that Jane wrote from Gallatin through the end of the month, but none written to or from her refer to her decision to come home. From this exchange, however, it is likely that Jane felt drawn back to Indianapolis, to take care of her household.

Regardless of their male family members' statements, the Ketcham women continued to serve the nation in whatever way they saw fit. Jane did take herself and a son closer to the battle field, where she thought she could be most useful, even if she only stayed a few months. She and her two eldest daughters additionally supported the soldiers at home by sewing clothes and preparing foodstuffs for those in camps. As for Janie, she was likely too young to have had much contact with the war effort. Certainly, no letters or other records exist suggesting anything to the contrary. However, she too was at least aware of the war and the changes it had brought to her household, and wanted to see the conflict swiftly resolved, as did everyone else.

Chapter 2: After the War

Life slowly started returning to normal in the northern states after the war ended in April 1865, with some difficulty. Throughout that summer soldiers were mustered out of the army and returned home, picking up where they left off to the best of their ability. Many, however, suffered from what is now called post-traumatic stress disorder, or they had other physical ailments that negatively affected their transition back home. Michael Murphy, in discussing the Kimberlins of southern Indiana, describes what life was like for the few family members whose records remain. He states that most “quickly blended back into Scott County society,” adopting a mundane routine.¹³⁷ Others struggled to make a living, and applied not only for pensions but for frequent increases that would help them survive, including two cousins, both named James H. Kimberlin; one suffered from scurvy and heart troubles, while the other had several issues related to time spent in the Andersonville prison.¹³⁸ Still others could not transition back to regular life, such as Henry Kimberlin, who found relief in drinking.¹³⁹

However, many other men, including the Ketchams, had successful lives after the war. Young men in particular were able to turn their experience into political advantage. Gallman writes that “for decades after the war Northern Republicans parlayed their wartime patriotism into electoral victories,” and used their status to support economic policies that favored industrial capitalism.¹⁴⁰ Etcheson also describes this phenomenon, stating that “elevation to political office was seen as a way for communities to repay their

¹³⁷ Murphy, *The Kimberlins Go to War*, 93.

¹³⁸ Murphy, *The Kimberlins Go to War*, 97-103.

¹³⁹ Murphy, *The Kimberlins Go to War*, 106-107.

¹⁴⁰ Gallman, *The North Fights the Civil War*, 186.

volunteers.”¹⁴¹ Newspapers provided military biographies of political candidates, and many men were elected as much for their service as for the platforms on which they stood. Regardless of the positions they took up after the war, and the successes or failures they experienced, former soldiers “clung to their identity as veterans.”¹⁴² Whether it was through political office or pension, these men expected recompense for the sacrifices made both during and after the war.

Aside from these rewards, soldiers also worked to remember the war through commemorative activities and products. For example, even before the war ended, members of the Putnam County community proposed the creation of a “column” on which would be the names of those who gave their life to the war effort.¹⁴³ That monument, similar to others erected nationwide, later served as the site for an annual Civil War remembrance day (then called Decoration Day, now known as Memorial Day). Veterans, across the nation, took an active role both organizing and participating in these ceremonies. They also began organizing veterans’ associations and reunions, which ultimately led to the formation of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). The GAR was established in Springfield, Illinois, in 1866 as a political organization and fraternal society, and spread to include hundreds of posts across the country.¹⁴⁴

Women experienced some of these changes as well. Some of those who supported the war effort at home by knitting socks or preparing food were working within the accepted gender roles of the time, and turned their attention back to their homes. They were celebrated as “noble women” and “praised... for performing their ‘natural’ roles so

¹⁴¹ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 201.

¹⁴² Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 199.

¹⁴³ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 203.

¹⁴⁴ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 207. Gallman, *The North Fights the Civil War*, 197.

vigorously.”¹⁴⁵ Even women who had become soldiers and spies were honored, although narratives about them were sure to point out that their excursion outside of gender norms was due to patriotic necessity. Most men likely did not expect or want women to maintain their new roles in the public sphere after the war. However, women did continue working as nurses, teachers, and clerks, either out of necessity to supplement household income or simply because they enjoyed the work. Many more who chose not to work went on to found or volunteer for “citywide charity organizing societies or other government-sponsored relief organizations.”¹⁴⁶ While most women at the time were not questioning or fighting against their positions, these post-war changes were a step towards the political consciousness and activism of the early twentieth century.¹⁴⁷

Children continued to be influenced by the war, although as Marten writes most “finished their lives without setting down their thoughts [of the war] on paper.”¹⁴⁸ Into the 1870s, toys and games, schoolbooks, and magazines geared toward children continued to be largely war-related, which was also reflected in adult literature later in the century. Additionally, children were strongly affected by the death of Abraham Lincoln. For most northerners this startling event marked the end of the war, and the “president’s martyrdom... amplified the significance of both events.”¹⁴⁹ As a result many children, such as Jane Addams, as they grew into adulthood, held him “as the standard bearer to the conscience of his countrymen” and acted in ways that upheld his legacy.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Gallman, *The North Fights the Civil War*, 189.

¹⁴⁶ Gallman, *The North Fights the Civil War*, 190.

¹⁴⁷ Silber, *Daughters of the Union*, 262-266.

¹⁴⁸ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 189.

¹⁴⁹ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 210.

¹⁵⁰ Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 210. Jane Addams was just four and half years old when Lincoln, a well-admired friend of her father, was killed.

Aside from this event, children as adults also adopted businesslike ideas from the mobilization of the war effort. Their ideas on centralization and efficiency, previously applied to manpower and resources, were translated into at least some acceptance of government-controlled reform efforts.¹⁵¹ Therefore, while many individuals who were children during the Civil War may not have left a record of how they were affected by the war effort, it is clear that their lives were distinctly shaped by their childhood experiences.

Many of these tendencies can be applied to the Ketcham family as well, although they were lucky not to have encountered any serious mental or physical illnesses. Will found success in Indiana politics and was an active member of the GAR, and both he and Lew, and their wives, received pensions.¹⁵² Jane and Bettie applied their efforts to helping the community, while Susan had a flourishing career as an artist. The other children attended school and had careers, as will be described below. None, other than Will, wrote about the war after it ended, nor does its influence seem evident in most of their career choices. However, based on Marten's insights, it is not too much of a leap to assume each Ketcham carried the war with them throughout their lives. Regardless of how the war affected them, life seems to have settled back into a normal rhythm soon after the war's close for the family. The children went to school, got married, had children, and died in due course, leaving the following brief biographies.

The family patriarch did not live much longer after the close of the war. On April 20, 1869, while visiting the proprietors of Alford, Talbott & Co., John took an

¹⁵¹ Marten, *The Children's Civil War*, 240.

¹⁵² "Ketcham, John L." and "Ketcham, William A.," Pension Index Forms, National Archives and Records Administration.

unfortunate misstep into an open elevator shaft. The twelve-foot fall resulted in injuries that led to his death that night.¹⁵³ The Reverend Charles H. Marshall, who gave his eulogy, described John in several ways, as a man of God and example to young men, but his description of John as a family man is most striking. He said, “He kept the best for home and home should have the best.... How often have I heard the remark, ‘he was a model in the home.’ And how he loved his home! He always left it reluctantly.” He went on to say, “He [John] once said to a friend, to have the means to educate my children, and then let them do for themselves... was all he desired.”¹⁵⁴ John Ketcham succeeded in this mission. Upon his death one son, Will, had graduated from college and studied with him to become a lawyer. Lew received his own degree soon after his father’s death. The schooling of his eldest daughters, Bettie and Susan, is unknown, but his youngest, Janie, and the other boys attended college, as well. John was very interested in his children’s education, as became apparent in his letters prior to, during, and after the war, and he likely would have been thrilled and proud had he lived through each graduation.

Jane seems to have lived a full life after her husband’s death, although details are few and far between. She went on to live until September 21, 1911; throughout the course of her life she lived with a few of her children. She devoted herself to the cause of the Home for Friendless Women (which underwent several name changes) in Indianapolis, established in February 1867 to “protect unprotected women, house the homeless, save the erring and help the tempted.”¹⁵⁵ Jane served as a manager for five years alongside her

¹⁵³ “John Ketcham was Esteemed Lawyer,” *Indianapolis News*, May 5, 1972. JLK, Box 1, IHS.

¹⁵⁴ “Life and Character of John L. Ketcham,” 1869. Collection C240, Folder 4, Indiana University Bloomington Archives.

¹⁵⁵ “True Daughter of Hoosier State,” *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, September 23, 1911; “Home for Aged Women Long Established in City’s Affairs,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 11, 1931. Jeanette Vanausdall, “‘A Worthy History:’ The Indianapolis Retirement Home, 1867-1992,”

sisters, Catharine Merrill and Julia Merrill Moores, while their brother Samuel Merrill was a trustee. In 1877, Jane took Bettie, Susan, Henry, and Janie on a European tour for several months. The trip was for both unspecified health reasons and to enjoy music. Some time after returning she settled into life primarily with Susan, who decided to live in New York and paint, in addition to opening a studio to teach others in the arts.¹⁵⁶

Susan began her art education on their European tour, specifically in Florence, Italy. She apparently “felt surge upon her the conviction that she must and could become a painter,” and was frequently moved to paint the scenery she and her family encountered on their trip. After returning Susan went on tour with the Art Association of Indianapolis, with the purpose of acquiring paintings for an exhibit at the Hotel English, before setting her sights on New York City. She became close friends with fellow Indiana artist William M. Chase, known for his impressionist work and for establishing the Chase School. Susan became secretary of his class and studied with him in his studio. By 1893, Susan had become so accomplished that she exhibited a piece depicting her mother, entitled “Portrait of a Lady,” at the World’s Fair in Chicago. A few years later, in 1898, she established her city studio in Carnegie Hall, New York, where it remained for twenty-nine years. During this time, she spent summers in Ogunquit, Maine, painting the

Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History 4, no. 4 (1992): 34-43. By 1905, the home was unofficially called the Home for Friendless and Aged Women and then the Home for Aged and Friendless Women in 1909. It was then officially renamed the Indianapolis Home for Aged Women in 1913. In 1936, the home became the Indianapolis Home for the Aged, Inc., and in 1976 the home was given its final name of Indianapolis Retirement Home, Inc.

¹⁵⁶ “Indiana Loses Gifted Woman in Death of Susan M. Ketcham,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 9, 1930.

seascape. In 1927, Susan decided to return home to Indianapolis, and on February 1, 1930, she became the last of her siblings to die.¹⁵⁷

As for the other daughters, Bettie married Frederick A. W. Davis in October 1864, with whom she had two children. Davis was an officer at one of the banks that “handled all of the money with which the Indiana soldiers were paid, and was instrumental in maintaining the credit of the state during the war times.”¹⁵⁸ He later became vice-president of the Indianapolis Water Company in 1881 and then president of the company in 1904. Bettie herself had served as head of the music and primary departments of a mission school in Indianapolis and taught in unspecified public schools for a time, presumably to help her husband pay off debts. She died on February 9, 1910, after suffering from a long illness following a nervous breakdown upon her husband’s death in April 1909.¹⁵⁹

Janie’s life is even less documented. It was reported upon her death that she had received some schooling in France and Switzerland, and in 1938 one of her daughters completed a form stating that Janie attended classes at the Vassar College Preparatory School from 1871 to 1875, with the intention of being part of the class of 1878. She did not, however, complete coursework or graduate with that class.¹⁶⁰ She was also active in

¹⁵⁷ “Indiana Loses Gifted Woman in Death of Susan M. Ketcham,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 9, 1930.

¹⁵⁸ *Municipal Engineering Index* (Indianapolis: Municipal Engineering Company, January-June 1909), 331.

https://books.google.com/books?id=OBiKAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA331&lpg=PA331&dq=frederick+a+w+davis+indianapolis&source=bl&ots=p7uBf_ngbj&sig=ACfU3U3eP1-MXiffERtiR1Wqzl7kjgbgyA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj75bfe1NDjAhWUB50JHZkfDgYQ6AEwD3oECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=frederick%20a%20w%20davis%20indianapolis&f=false

¹⁵⁹ “Mrs. Davis Dies in South: Husband’s Death Hard Blow,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 10, 1910.

¹⁶⁰ Helene Hibben, “1938 Biographical Register Questionnaire,” Associate Alumnae of Vassar College, 1938. AAVC 1878, Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Library.

the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Catharine Merrill Literary Society, among other social clubs. In 1879, Janie married Thomas E. Hibben, with whom she had five children. Hibben was a buyer of the firm Hibben, Hollweg & Co., dealers in wholesale dry goods. He was also an artist and lover of art, having developed a process of etching, created a comic weekly paper, and perfected a rapid camera, in addition to collecting oil and water colors.¹⁶¹ Hibben died in 1915 from a sudden heart attack, and Janie died on October 16, 1920, after being invalid for many years following a stroke of paralysis.¹⁶²

The Ketcham boys each went on to very different lives and careers, and information about all but Will is few and far between. Lew was discharged from the army in Washington, D. C., on June 8, 1865. A few months later he entered the freshman class at Williams College, from which he received his diploma in 1869 despite dropping out upon his father's death in April.¹⁶³ He married Lilla McDonald, a daughter of Judge David McDonald who was a colleague of Lew's father, on April 27, 1870. The couple had eight children together. Lew served a number of roles throughout his life, including being the director of the Indianapolis Water Company, a partner at the architectural iron works of Haugh, Ketcham and Co., secretary-treasurer for Brown-Ketcham Iron Works, and president of the Employers' Association of Indianapolis, an organization he founded. He died on December 29, 1915.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ "Funeral of Thomas E. Hibben to be Held Here Tomorrow," *Indianapolis Star*, July 7, 1915. Hibben's wife is listed as the former "Miss Janet Ketcham"; there was no Janet Ketcham, and this was likely a typo.

¹⁶² "Mrs. Janie K. Hibben Dies," *Indianapolis Star*, October 17, 1920.

¹⁶³ Barnes & Barnes, *500 Strong*, 210.

¹⁶⁴ Barnes & Barnes, *500 Strong*, 211; "Death Call Comes to John L Ketcham, Manufacturer Here," *Indianapolis Star*, December 30, 1915.

Henry graduated from Williams College the same year as Lew, in 1869.¹⁶⁵ After graduating he felt a religious calling; he spent a year at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, and then another two years at Andover Seminary in Massachusetts, from which he graduated in 1872.¹⁶⁶ He initially became a pastor in Minnesota before falling ill and taking a few years off to regain his health—it was during this time that he went abroad with his mother and sisters. Upon returning he again became a pastor, serving in several states including New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Connecticut, New Jersey, and both North and South Dakota. During intervals between this work Henry “was employed in editorial and literary work, writing prefaces and biographical sketches for several sets of books, and for magazine articles.”¹⁶⁷ On October 8, 1879, Henry married Sarah Dickson Hendricks, with whom he had five children. Henry died in Dallas, South Dakota, on February 18, 1920.

Ed graduated from Dartmouth in 1873 and became an architect. He drew up plans for the insane hospitals in Richmond, Logansport, and Evansville, Indiana, and lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, for many years until becoming invalid and dying on December 19, 1916.¹⁶⁸ He does not appear to have ever married or had children. Twin Frank graduated from Williams College in 1872 and the “old Indiana medical college” in 1874, and then did post-graduate work at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, where he was the valedictorian of the Sydenham Medical Society.¹⁶⁹ He then practiced medicine in both Indiana and Ohio, was a dispatcher for the Indiana, Bloomington & Western

¹⁶⁵ *Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. Class of 1869: Williams College Class of 1869* (Mineola, NY: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company, 1911), 2.

¹⁶⁶ *The Class of Sixty-Nine Williams College: After 50 Years* (Mineola, NY, 1919), 51.

¹⁶⁷ *After 50 Years*, 52.

¹⁶⁸ “Edwin Hazen Ketcham Dead,” *Indianapolis News*, December 19, 1916.

¹⁶⁹ “Frank Ketcham is Found Dead,” *Indianapolis Star*, October 7, 1928.

railroad, and served as a telegrapher for the Western Union Telegraph Company for more than thirty years. He spent the last ten years of his life engaged in music and masonic work. He married Laura K. Robson in 1874, with whom he had three children, and died on October 6, 1928, from an apparent heart attack.¹⁷⁰

Will is the Ketcham for whom the most information is available. He was mustered out of the army on September 25, 1865, and immediately entered Dartmouth College as a junior. He graduated in the spring of 1867, at which point he returned to Indianapolis.¹⁷¹ There, he decided to follow in his father's footsteps and pursue a law career. He studied under his father and Judge McDonald and was admitted to the bar in 1868. He served for a time as president of both the State of Indiana and Indianapolis Bar Associations, although dates are not specified.¹⁷² On June 25, 1873, he married another McDonald daughter, Flora, with whom he had seven children. In 1894, he was elected Attorney General of the state of Indiana on the Republican ticket, and served two terms. According to his extended obituary in the *Indianapolis News*, Will "represented the state in many important cases," such as "the Roby horse racing case,... [and] the case of the state against the Ohio Oil Company, a branch of the Standard Oil Company, preventing that company from wasting natural gas to get to the underlying oil." He won many of these cases for the state of Indiana.¹⁷³

Will was also an active member in the Grand Army of the Republic and upheld the values he had fought for during the war throughout his life. For example, he was a

¹⁷⁰ *History of the Kimball Family in America from 1634 to 1897* (Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1897), 1051.

¹⁷¹ Barnes & Barnes, *500 Strong*, 211.

¹⁷² "W. A. Ketcham Dead; Former G.A.R. Head," *Indianapolis News*, December 27, 1921, 1.

¹⁷³ "W.A. Ketcham Dead," 1.

fierce defender of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in Indianapolis, serving as a member of the board of control for the monument for several years. Similarly, he spoke out against the construction of a monument to the controversial Captain Heinrich "Henry" Wirz erected by the Daughters of the Southern Confederates (now the United Daughters of the Confederacy). Wirz worked at several prisons during the Civil War, and most notably served as the commander of Camp Sumter in Andersonville, Georgia. After the war he was hanged for mistreating and killing prisoners there. The Daughters, and many other southerners, saw Wirz as a martyr and defended his actions, while Will and other northerners, especially those who were prisoners, emphasized his cruelty. Will specifically called Wirz "the monster of Andersonville" when protesting the monument.¹⁷⁴ In 1907 and 1908, Will served as commander of the Department of Indiana GAR, became the national judge advocate-general from 1915 to 1920, and was finally named the national Commander-in-Chief at the 54th annual encampment on September 24, 1920, a title that all Commanders held for one year terms. As commander, Will was "called on many times to speak for the veterans' organization on topics of national importance;" during these speeches he displayed "uncompromising advocacy for Americanism."¹⁷⁵ In his last address to the GAR in September 1921, Will "breathed the spirit of militant patriotism," calling on his fellow members to fight the things that threatened the nation, including Bolshevism, "I.W.W.-ism" (referring to the Industrial Workers of the World), and the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ "W.A. Ketcham Dead," 4; "The Wirz Monument," *National Park Service*, last updated April 14, 2015, <https://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/wirz-mon.htm>.

¹⁷⁵ "W.A. Ketcham Dead," 1.

¹⁷⁶ "W.A. Ketcham Dead," 4.

Will died on December 27, 1921, from acute indigestion as an esteemed and prominent figure in Indianapolis society. He had, in many ways, inherited his father's position. Upon John's death half a century earlier, the minister presiding over his funeral stated that he was "an example for young men; I refer to his steadiness of purpose, and untiring tendency in his profession."¹⁷⁷ Similarly, the *Indianapolis News* wrote of Will, "Captain Ketcham always evinced the deepest appreciation of the honor and dignity of the profession of which he was an able representative."¹⁷⁸ Both men wholeheartedly took on the role of public defender during their respective lifetimes, serving their city and state the best way they thought possible, and succeeded in this course. John did what he could, until his untimely death, to teach his sons the appropriate behavior of men of their time, and Will, more than any of his siblings based on the evidence provided, did what he could to make his father proud.

Conclusion

The Civil War was a tumultuous event in American history that affected each citizen, causing him or her to respond in a variety of ways. The youngest may not have been as acutely aware, like six-year-old Janie Ketcham, who recognized that her brothers were not home when they should be, but would not have taken part in much, if any, home front activity. Even for those like Frank and Ed, however, just a few years older than her, most citizens would have had varying degrees of intimacy with the war effort. Children, boys and girls alike, would have been indoctrinated with both local and national opinions from the books and magazines they perused, or in school. Young men over the age of

¹⁷⁷ "Life and Character of John L. Ketcham," 1869. Collection C240, Folder 4, Indiana University Bloomington Archives.

¹⁷⁸ "W.A. Ketcham Dead," 4.

eighteen had something of a choice when it came to how they interacted with the war effort—so long as they were not identified by the draft they did not have to join, although many may have experienced societal pressure to become soldiers regardless, so as not to appear cowardly. Those who did go to battle obviously had the most direct relationship with the war, while their brethren at home read newspapers or attended society meetings to remain aware of what was going on. While soldiers often looked down on those who stayed at home, thinking they were not appropriately serving the nation, both groups thought they were performing their proper duties.

Members of the older generation typically had a similar experience to the boys who remained at home, unless they were like Jane Ketcham and chose to work in military hospitals. Women, specifically, who became nurses would have had even more knowledge of the war and its effects than most of their friends and family at home. This call to duty simultaneously conflicted with their responsibilities at home while also being emblematic of their roles as wives and mothers. Despite family members wanting them at home, and feeling a certain need to take care of their own families, women who became nurses felt like their skills as caretakers would better serve their nation during the war years. Overall, the question of duty for Americans throughout the Civil War differed according to age, gender, and region, but all felt compelled to serve in some capacity.

Chapter 3: Public History Supplement

Introductory Statement

This exhibit is designed to enhance the preceding thesis that examines the Civil War experiences of the Ketcham family of Indianapolis. During the Civil War the family included parents John Lewis and Jane Merrill Ketcham, whose respective families each settled in Indiana before it gained statehood, and their eight living children, aged 21, 19, 17, 15, 13, 11 (twins), and 6 at the start of the conflict. Ideally, the exhibit would be placed in a local institution interested in discussing Indiana's Civil War activity in a new way. The targeted audience would include students and adults interested in learning more about the Civil War.

The exhibit will discuss each Ketcham's wartime activity based on their respective senses of duty, defined in 1864 as "that which is due from one person to another... especially, that which a person is bound, by any natural, moral, or legal obligation, to do, or refrain from doing."¹⁷⁹ The exhibit will begin with the men, taking into consideration their conflicting calls to action. Some men, particularly of the older generation like John Lewis Ketcham, thought their duty remained back at home doing their regular jobs. Those of a higher social class also believed their sons could better serve the nation by getting an education and becoming leaders after the war, while those sons believed their duty lay on the battlefield, including the two eldest Ketcham boys. A women's section will follow, again showing conflicting senses of duty. While most women felt a call to action toward their nation, they also felt that their duty remained with their families. Many managed this by remaining home and serving the nation from

¹⁷⁹ Noah Webster, revised and enlarged by Chauncey A. Goodrich and Noah Porter, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam, 1865), 421.

there, sending food, clothing, and other material to the soldiers. Jane Merrill Ketcham did this with her eldest daughters. However, Jane, like some other women, felt that they needed to do something more direct to support the war effort. These women became nurses and traveled to hospitals near the battle lines to care for injured soldiers. The exhibit will conclude by discussing children's activities. Although most remained at home during the war, aside from boys who lied about their age, they were still vividly aware of the war and engaged with it in their own ways. For example, twins Frank and Ed Ketcham interacted with the soldiers stationed nearby, including selling them stationery, and formed their own "boy companies" and play-acted as soldiers. The youngest child, a daughter named Janie, does not appear to have participated in any activity, although a brief letter sent to her brother shows at least a distinct awareness of the conflict.

Civil War scholarship has largely focused on the big picture of the war, including the causes, across both the North and South. Research over the last fifty years has moved beyond this to look at more local details of the social implications and activities and smaller regions. This exhibit fits into this pattern. By looking at one upper-class white family, visitors will learn how the Ketchams were in many ways emblematic of northern wartime experiences.

Exhibit Brief

Big Idea

The big idea is the guiding principle of the exhibit. It defines what the exhibit will be about, and the ultimate message visitors should learn.

Each member of the Ketcham family felt a sense of duty to the war effort that was representative of the larger population and acted on that sense in a variety of ways.

Main Messages

Aside from the big idea, these are the messages the exhibit should convey to visitors.

They were the ideas that came out of initial research on the Ketchams, and led the direction of the rest of the project.

1. The men of the family supported the Union effort, but disagreed on how best to serve their nation, including whether to stay at home and school, or to fight on the front lines. Each man's sense of duty led them down different paths.
2. The women of the family participated both at home and on the front lines due to their own, conflicting senses of duty.
3. The children of the family did not actively participate in the war effort as their parents and older siblings did, but were still aware of the war and did what they could to feel connected to it.

Goals

These goals were a further guiding factor in the content development of the exhibit.

Ideally, visitors will leave the exhibit with these understandings:

1. Visitors should understand how an upper-class white northern family participated in the Civil War effort both at home and on the front lines.

2. Visitors should recognize that each family member felt their own sense of duty to the war effort which may have clashed with other family members.
3. Visitors should be able to see similarities between the Ketcham family and others across the North, while recognizing that this family unit was unique.

Thematic Framework and Content

Initially there were three very large topics that formed the base of this exhibit. They are:

- Men during the war
- Women during the war
- Children during the war

The whole project, written thesis and exhibit supplement combined, was developed based on the question “What were men, women, and children doing to support the war effort?” More specifically, the question transformed into thinking about what each member of the Ketcham family did during the Civil War, as the family contains members of each larger group in the original question. Therefore, while those three topics are at the core of the exhibit, given the family structure the main themes became:

- Family activity on the home front
- Family activity on the front lines
- Relationships between family members

The content of the exhibit directly relates to these themes.

On the Home Front

Indianapolis was Indiana’s main recruiting station and military depot during the Civil War, with 12,000 soldiers from across the state congregating on the city in the first two weeks after the Battle of Fort Sumter in April 1861.¹⁸⁰ The city was also recognized for providing great care to servicemen and their families. Soldiers clogged the city throughout the war effort as Indianapolis was host to twenty-four training camps, a prison

¹⁸⁰ Richard S. Skidmore, “Civil War,” in David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 441.

camp, a federal arsenal, an artillery practice field, a Soldiers' Home, a Ladies' Home, and three military hospitals. As a result, the Ketchams themselves were surrounded by the war effort. They lived just southeast of the railroad depot, which itself was just south of the circle that formed the center of the city. The girls wrote about visiting Camp Sullivan, located west of the city center on what is today known as Military Park, and Camp Morton, located north of the city on the land roughly border today by 19th Street, Talbott Street, 22nd Street, and Central Avenue. A few maps are provided in the appendix that should be used in the exhibit to show where these important landmarks were and illustrate how close the Ketcham house was to them. Appendix A is a military map, which shows the general location of camps and soldiers homes in the city, while Appendix B is a ward map overlaid with sites relevant to the Ketcham family.¹⁸¹

The home front in this case includes both Indianapolis and Crawfordsville, Indiana, where Wabash College is located. This inclusion is because education was incredibly important to the Ketchams, and John urged his sons to stay in school rather than enlist as soldiers. Consequently, Wabash College is where Lew and Will spent most of their time during the war before leaving for the front lines. Wabash had both a college and a Preparatory Department (high school), which accounts for the school remaining open during the war despite the surprisingly high total of 529 students who enlisted over the course of the war.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ H. B. Carrington, "Military Map of Indianapolis, 1862-1865." H. B. Carrington Files, Accession #1998275, Indiana State Archives. Copyright Library of Congress; S.A. Mitchell, "Map c. 1867." OCLC #54685165, Indiana Historical Society.

¹⁸² Barnes & Barnes, *500 Strong*, viii-ix, 416.

Men – Father:

The patriarch, John Lewis, was a staunch Republican who remained at home for the entirety of the war, specifically looking after his youngest children during the year while his wife served as a nurse. He believed that his station in life, being an affluent resident of the city, meant that he and his sons could support the war effort from afar, a view shared by fathers of the Northeast.¹⁸³ Furthermore, he thought his sons could use the education they were getting at Wabash College, located in Crawfordsville, Indiana, to support the nation after the war, to build it back up.¹⁸⁴ He himself contributed to the effort primarily by speaking to others about the behavior they should adopt. His most notable speaking engagement, as reflected by newspapers at the time, came in May 1864. He, along with several other citizens such as Judge David McDonald and the Honorable Albert G. Porter, spoke to the newly formed Ladies' National Covenant—an association created to “unite the women of the country in the earnest resolution to purchase no imported articles of apparel, where American can possibly be substituted.”¹⁸⁵ He emphasized that it was not decent for women to be wearing extravagant material when their husbands and sons were suffering on the battlefield.

Men – Older Sons:

Within the collection most information comes from the men of the family, which is typical of historic records. Even with that, most of the letters currently in the collection were written between John Lewis and his second eldest son, Will. While there is information about the oldest boys generally, there is not much known about their home

¹⁸³ Wongsrichanalai, *Northern Character*, 101.

¹⁸⁴ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, October 23, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹⁸⁵ “Ladies National Covenant,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 17, 1864; “The Ladies’ National Covenant,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1864.

front activity. In one letter from early in the war, Will apparently wrote to his father about a patriotic meeting among the students at Wabash College, although that letter does not remain in the collection. What does remain is John's response, saying that his sons were in school to get an education and nothing more.¹⁸⁶ He did not believe they should participate in such meetings, or contribute any money to support the war effort. Likely as a result of his father's admonishments, Will did not appear to have ever mentioned any similar activity while at school in his letters again. However, he and older brother, Lew, felt that their duty lay on the battlefield. Both remained in school until they turned eighteen, as their father requested, but upon coming of age—Lew in 1862, and Will in 1864—both boys followed their calling to the front lines, where they believed they could do more good than staying in school.

Men – Younger Sons:

The younger boys provide even less of a record in the collection. Very early in the war one of the twins (Ed) wrote to his brothers about how he went to his uncle's store, bought stationery, and then went to one of the nearby camps to sell paper and envelopes to the soldiers there.¹⁸⁷ The same twin also wrote a short letter to his aunt about how he, his brother, and some of their friends had formed a "boy company," where they play-acted as soldiers with fake rifles and swords.¹⁸⁸ Based on this account and information gathered from secondary sources, primarily James Marten's *The Children's Civil War*, it may be surmised that the boys continued to have similar encounters with the war. While they could not participate directly, they at least pretended to. The results of their sense of

¹⁸⁶ John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, October 23, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹⁸⁷ Ed Ketcham to Lew and Will Ketcham, May 15, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

¹⁸⁸ Ed Ketcham to Aunt Mary, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

duty lay not so much in actively supporting the war effort, but rather in generally staying mentally invested in it. They did so by acting out battles and interacting with the soldiers who were camped around their city.

Women:

Women often felt a sense of duty to “do something” for the soldiers who were suffering away from their homes. Most, including Jane and her two older daughters, found ways of supporting the war effort from home, participating in activities that were more commonly associated with women’s duties. They knitted, made clothing, baked cakes, and made other material that they thought would be appreciated by the soldiers. Jane specifically wrote in her reminiscences that, prior to becoming a nurse, she would knit socks even on Sundays (the Sabbath day) because she could not sit still when thinking of the soldiers on the battlefield.¹⁸⁹ The girls, Bettie and Sue, felt a similar drive to action, as described in an early letter sent to their brothers.¹⁹⁰ The sisters and their friends got together a few times to make pin cushions and bake sweets which they then personally took to the soldiers at Camp Morton, located just west of the city center. While there the women also watched the drills, which they found grand and exciting.

On the Front Lines

Men – Older Sons:

The eldest boys, Lew and Will, both enlisted as soldiers, where they thought they could best serve the nation. Lew joined the 70th Regiment in 1862, a few months after turning eighteen, while Will joined the 13th Regiment in 1864, almost immediately after

¹⁸⁹ Jane Merrill Ketcham, “Reminiscences,” JLK, BV1046, IHS, 97-8.

¹⁹⁰ Susan Ketcham to Will and Lew Ketcham and Kate and Mina Merrill, May 24, 1861, JLK, Box 2, Folder 1, IHS.

he came of age. The decision to wait is noteworthy, as there were many young boys who chose to lie about their ages in order to enlist early.¹⁹¹ The Ketcham boys, by contrast, listened to their father insofar as they honored his wishes to at least wait. John would have preferred that they not enlist at all, but he was satisfied that they stayed in school until turning eighteen. Very few letters remain that were written either to or from Lew, but there are several exchanged with Will. His experience seems to have been mixed, although overall he appears to have enjoyed it, as much as one can enjoy war. In a letter sent to his father soon after enlisting, Will describes a bout of homesickness that led him to the swamp to cry alone.¹⁹² He wrote about how life as a soldier could be heartless and that he wished for the comforts of home. At the same time, however, he said that he did not regret joining the army. He felt it was his duty to be there, and he would remain as long as he was needed.

Women:

Women, more so than the other groups, often felt conflicting senses of duty. On the one hand, their duty was to home and family, but during wartime they not only wanted to support the nation but also lend their nurturing qualities to the soldiers' care. Jane perfectly embodies these conflicting feelings. She began and ended the war at home, but chose to serve as a nurse from late 1862 into early 1863.¹⁹³ While she was happy to help on the home front, she felt a need to do something more, and the opportunity arose when a Dr. Bullard came to the city from Gallatin, Tennessee, and asked for volunteers to

¹⁹¹ Marten, *The Children's Civil War*, 166.

¹⁹² Will Ketcham to John Lewis Ketcham, June 20, 1864, JLK, Box 2, Folder 3, IHS.

¹⁹³ Jane's letters home from Gallatin, Tennessee were dated between December 1863 and February 1863, but it is unclear precisely when she left for the front or when she returned home.

serve as nurses.¹⁹⁴ She reflected on how so many men had left their homes and decided that she could also leave to help those in greater need than her family, who were safe at home. It is possible that her drive was not entirely altruistic, as eldest son Lew was stationed in Gallatin by this time, but she makes no reference to that when discussing her decision making. Instead, she seems to have been drawn in primarily by the notion that her duty was to help as many soldiers as possible as directly as possible.

Children:

Henry is the only younger child to have participated in the war effort from the front lines. His sense of duty aligned with that of his older brothers: he wanted to serve the nation as a soldier. When his mother decided to serve as a nurse in Gallatin, Tennessee, she took him along, likely hoping that seeing the wounds would discourage him from ever wanting to join the army.¹⁹⁵ The wounds did not seem to have bothered him, although he did not stay in Gallatin long. While he did enjoy helping around the nearby camp, doing odd jobs like making canes, he eventually got homesick and returned to Indianapolis before his mother.¹⁹⁶ As for the other children, any sense of duty that they may have felt towards the front lines was not discussed. They were young enough for John and Jane to say no outright, and there was the hope that the war would end before any of the younger sons turned eighteen.

¹⁹⁴ Jane Merrill Ketcham, "Reminiscences," JLK, BV1046, IHS, 97-98.

¹⁹⁵ Jane Merrill Ketcham, "Reminiscences," JLK, BV1046, IHS, 98.

¹⁹⁶ Jane Merrill Ketcham, "Reminiscences," JLK, BV1046, IHS, 111.

Important Relationships

The relationships between family members weave through both of the other themes, but stand alone due to their vital importance and complexity. Below are the various relationships in the family in order from most evident in the collection to least.

Father-Son:

The relationship between father and son is the most distinct, in large part because it is so clear in the letters, but also because it shows the difference in their senses of duty. John did not believe he or his sons should become soldiers, and told them several times. This belief was due, in part, to the notion of being a “gentleman.” From John’s upper class perspective, a gentleman was characterized by his education and good manners, which included abstaining from profanity, gambling, and the consumption of alcohol.¹⁹⁷ As a result, John believed remaining in school and becoming leaders after the war was the proper course of action for his sons, and he likely tried to keep them from enlisting until the moment they did. They enlisted anyway, but it is remarkable that they each chose to wait until they turned eighteen, as their father requested. It is also important to note that after the boys enlisted John supported them completely. In letters sent to and from Will it is evident that John kept his sons updated with news from home, asked them how they were doing, and sent them clothing and other material that they asked for. Further, he worked tirelessly to get Will home on furlough after he was sent to the hospital with diarrhea. Despite not wanting his sons to join the army, John wholeheartedly supported the Union effort, and above all he wanted his sons to come

¹⁹⁷ Foote, *The Gentlemen and the Roughs*, 18; John Lewis Ketcham to Will Ketcham, April 28, 1860, JLK, Box 1, Folder 3, IHS.

home safely, so he did what he could to support his sense of duty towards nation and family.

Husband-Wife:

John had an opposite reaction and relationship with his wife. While he initially supported her decision to serve as a nurse, he eventually encouraged her to come home as soon as possible, presumably from the belief that her duty was to her family. He wrote to her saying he wished for her to return and “rule by love in the Household again.”¹⁹⁸ Outwardly, however, the family showed unconditional support, as Catharine “Kate” Merrill, Jane’s sister, herself wrote about John’s support of Jane’s nursing.¹⁹⁹ What is even more intriguing about the situation is the consideration of marriage during this time period. While couples, especially of the middle class, “increasingly prized companionate marriage,” women were still considered dependent on men, and were expected to defer to their husbands.²⁰⁰ The collection does not provide a lot of insight into the Ketchams’ relationship before or after the war, but during the conflict it appears that Jane did not follow this proscribed behavior and acted separately from her husband’s wishes, following the sense of duty she felt towards the nation.

Mother-Son:

In addition to John’s letter to his wife, Will wrote to his mother about how the family was essentially falling apart without her, with little sister Janie becoming “tomboyish” and his brothers running wild.²⁰¹ He did not so much ask her to come home

¹⁹⁸ John Lewis Ketcham to Jane Merrill Ketcham, January 3, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

¹⁹⁹ Catharine Merrill to Miss Guilford, February 13, 1863, in *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters*, 313.

²⁰⁰ Etcheson, *A Generation at War*, 51.

²⁰¹ Will Ketcham to Jane Merrill Ketcham, December 28, 1862, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

as he demanded it, saying that going to nurse was the worst thing she could have done. Clearly, he also thought his mother's duty belonged to the family. While this exchange was forceful it was decidedly out of character. The boys and their mother appear to have had a good relationship, with the boys writing letters to keep in touch and Jane sending them what they needed in turn. Furthermore, despite Will's thoughts, Jane also kept her family at the front of her attentions while serving as a nurse, working in the same town in which Lew was encamped and bringing Henry along with her in an attempt to keep him from wanting to be a soldier.

Parent-Daughter:

The relationship between either John or Jane with their daughters is not clear. Perhaps this is because there was not much cause for the girls to write to their parents, as they were together in the same city for most of the war. While Jane was away nursing she did write a few letters to her daughters, although the content is largely indecipherable. However, some inferences can be made from what does exist in the collection. First and foremost, the Ketcham parents were likely supportive of Bettie's and Sue's activities pertaining to the war effort. While John did not entirely agree with the idea of sending his sons or wife to the front lines, supporting the Union cause from home was acceptable. In other words, duty to the nation was absolutely a positive, so long as it was exercised from the safety of home. Meanwhile, Jane clearly felt her own drive to help and likely worked alongside her daughters in making foodstuffs or sewing clothes. The other main extrapolation deals with little Janie. Despite the activities of the rest of the family I do not believe Janie was part of most, if any, of it. She certainly knew what was going on, but

she is neither referenced nor does she appear very often in the collection, implying that she was kept sheltered as much as possible.

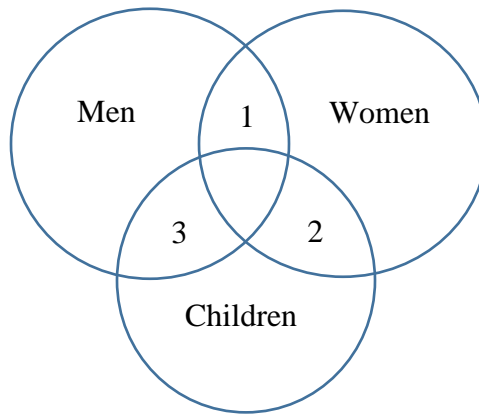
Siblings:

The relationship between the siblings is also not well represented in the collection, but present enough for conclusions to be made. Most importantly, the siblings appear to have been close. This is especially true of the older sisters and Will, with whom many letters were exchanged. These letters were similar to those written between Will and his parents: both parties shared news, and Will might ask for things that the sisters would then send. A similar relationship likely existed between Lew and his sisters, but too few letters remain to come to this conclusion. Will also wrote to his younger brothers occasionally; in one instance, he commiserated with Frank about how their mother told the younger boy he could not have a gun.²⁰² Finally, Janie sent a very short letter and valentine to Will, expressing her hope that the war would end soon so he and Lew could return home. This proves Janie's awareness at the very least of how the war was affecting her family dynamic, and her desire to see them all together again suggests how close the family members were to each other. This sense of duty was primarily to the family; each sibling felt the need to be close to the others even when they were apart.

²⁰² Will Ketcham to Frank Ketcham, June 2, 1863, JLK, Box 2, Folder 2, IHS.

Thematic Structure

The exhibit will use a focal thematic structure. This can be represented by the Venn diagram figure below. At the core of this structure is the big idea, regarding the family's wartime activities. The other topics and themes radiate out from this main idea.



Core: big idea, wartime activity

Three main topics: Men, women, children

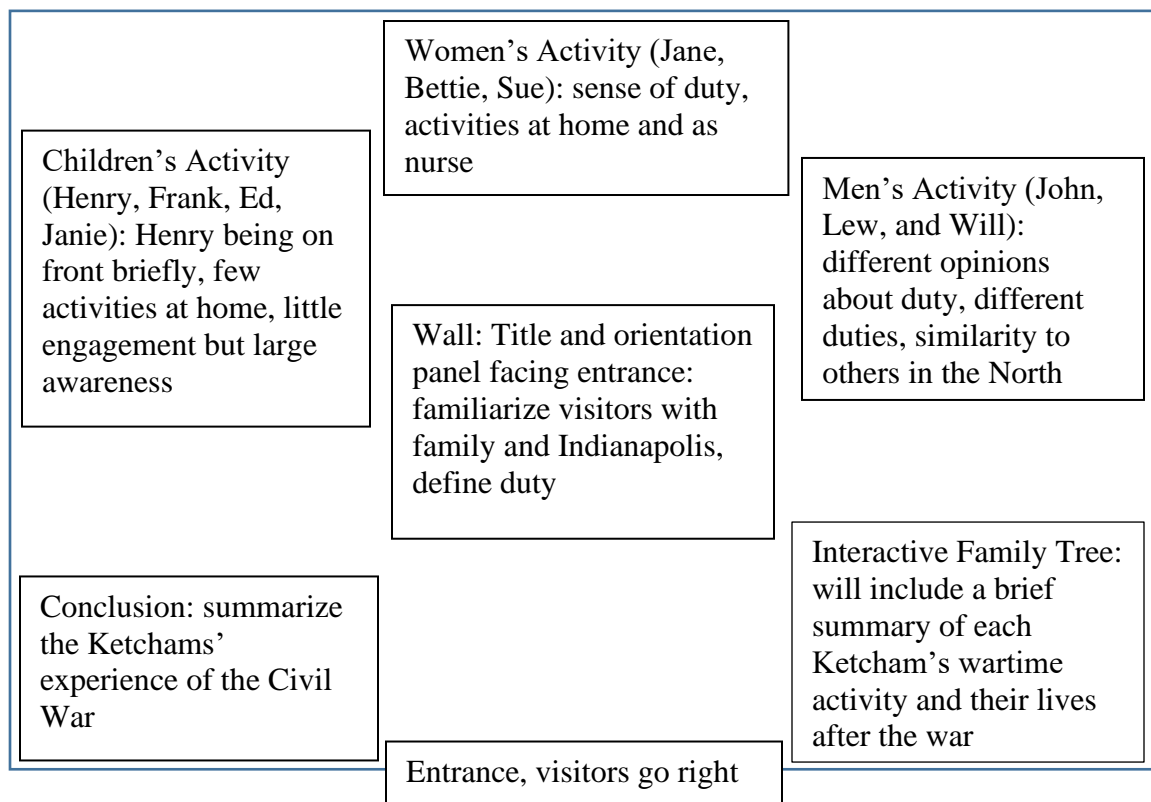
Subtopics: relationships

1. husband and wife
2. mother and children
3. father and children

Exhibit Layout and Interactives

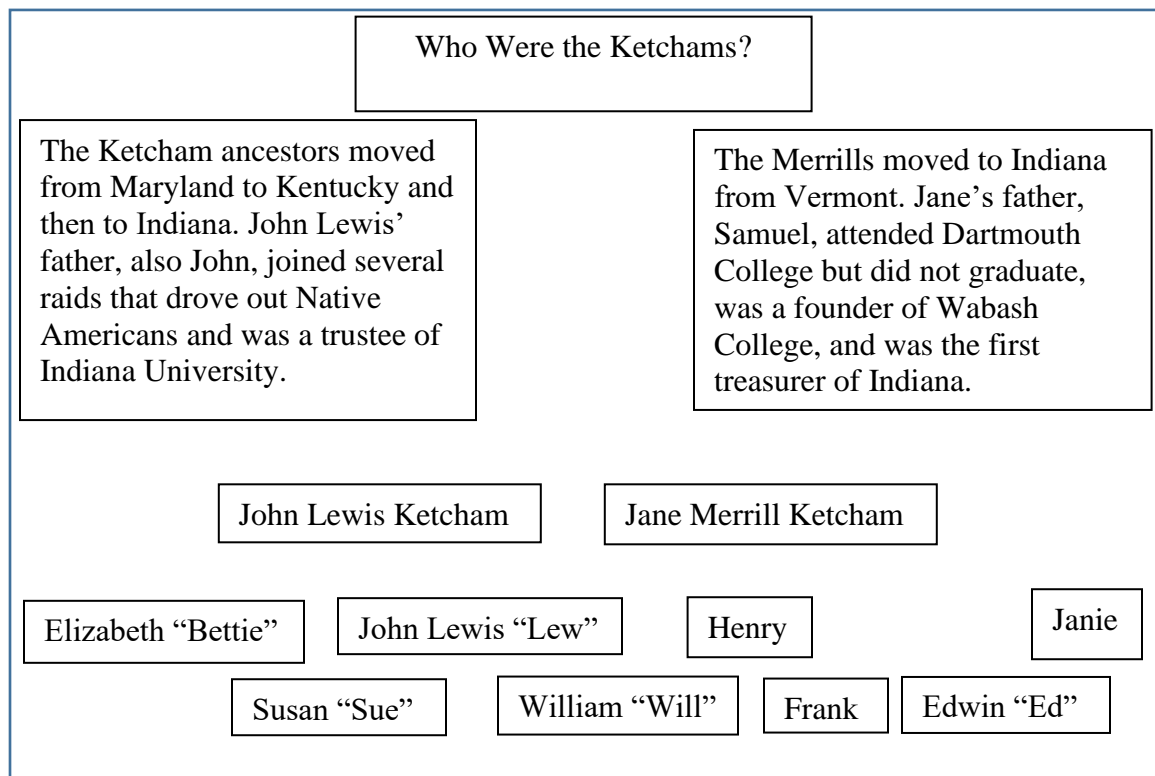
Because I do not have a designated space for the exhibit this is purely hypothetical. However, it reflects the general organization proposed for the exhibit in a basic rectangular room and the route visitors could take. Visitors will likely move in a counterclockwise route, due to right turn bias, and would learn about the family from level of most engagement with the war effort to least. However, because the exhibit is thematic and not chronological visitors could move in any direction they like.

In each section, visitors would learn about how each group—men, women, and children—engaged with the war effort both at home and on the front lines.



To the right of the entrance in the above diagram (or towards the end of the exhibit if the exit is elsewhere) there will be an interactive family tree. Depending on the technological capacity of the space this interactive could take two forms. On a more basic

level, each family member's name and years of life would appear on a flap. When lifted, the flap would reveal a brief summary of what they did after the war. A more complex version would have the names and years simply put on the wall in vinyl and then provide a kiosk recreating the tree. Visitors would be able to tap on the names and see wartime activity, quotes from letters, and activity after the war. The complex version would be preferred as it allows more opportunities to add information and would, therefore, provide a more nuanced picture of each family member.



Information that would appear about each family member:

John Lewis Ketcham: April 3, 1810 – April 20, 1869

Activity during the war: John was a staunch Republican and wanted the Union to win, but believed his family could best support the troops from home. As a result, that is where he stayed, continuing to work in his law practice and occasionally taking part in

meetings regarding the war effort in Indianapolis. His most notable speaking engagements, as seen in newspapers, were with the Ladies' National Covenant and other women's groups, advising them to wear only domestic clothing and to avoid extravagances such as silk.

After the war: John was lucky to see both of his sons return home safely after the war's close, and thrilled that both continued their education. He was particularly happy with Will, who was able to enter Dartmouth College as a junior in 1865. John was able to see him graduate and then oversaw his continued studies in law. John and Will worked together until John's untimely death in 1869, when he took an unfortunate misstep into an open elevator shaft. He was remembered as a devoted family man and an example to others.

Jane Merrill Ketcham: February 2, 1819 – September 21, 1911

Activity during the war: Jane began by assisting the war effort while at home, preparing food for the soldiers camped nearby and knitting items such as socks. She felt restless, however, and wanted to help in a more direct way. The exact timing is not clear, but in 1862 she learned of the need for nurses and decided that she could be of greater use there. For at least a few months, from December 1862 through February 1863, Jane served as a nurse in Gallatin, Tennessee, where her oldest son, Lew, was stationed. She brought middle son, Henry, along, with the hopes that seeing injuries would keep him from wanting to become a soldier, as well. For the remainder of the war, while she was back home, she presumably picked up her pre-nursing activity, although no details are provided in the collection.

After the war: Jane helped establish the Home for Friendless Women in Indianapolis in 1867, and served on the board for five years. In 1877, Jane took Bettie, Sue, Henry, and Janie on a European tour for several months for the culture and unspecified health reasons. For the remainder of her life Jane spent time living with a few of her children, although some time after the European trip she settled in with Sue in New York. Sue and Jane spent their summers in Ogunquit, Maine, which is where Jane died from pneumonia in 1911.

Elizabeth “Bettie” Ketcham: July 1839 – February 9, 1910

Activity during the war: Bettie’s wartime activity was relegated to typical women’s tasks. She baked cakes and prepared other food for the soldiers camped nearby, in addition to making other necessities such as clothing. She and Sue also made pin cushions with sayings on them, such as “the Union forever,” to lift the soldiers’ spirits. Bettie, Sue, and their friends would take these items directly to the camps surrounding Indianapolis, and while there they would watch the soldiers performing their drills. Bettie also helped teach at their Aunt Kate’s school occasionally, and in October 1864, she married Frederick W. A. Davis, a banker.

After the war: Bettie appears to have lived a quiet, domestic life after the war. She and husband Frederick had two children together. She also continued to teach in various public schools, and served as the head of music and primary departments in a mission school in Indianapolis. She may have done this for her own pleasure and interest, or to help her husband pay off debts. Bettie died in February 1910, in the family’s winter home in Louisiana, from an illness brought on by a nervous breakdown upon her husband’s death in April 1909.

Susan “Sue” Ketcham: June 28, 1841 – February 1, 1930

Activity during the war: Sue took on typical women’s war time activity. She and sister Bettie baked cakes and prepared other food, in addition to making other necessities such as clothing. The sisters also made pin cushions with sayings on them, such as “a little shield from Southern shot,” to lift the soldiers’ spirits. Sue, Bettie, and their friends would take these items into the camps surrounding Indianapolis, and while there they would watch the soldiers performing their drills.

After the war: Sue’s life immediately after the war is unknown. However, she began her career as an artist in 1877 while on a European tour with her mother, sisters, and brother Henry. Sue was struck by the beauty of the scenery they encountered on the trip, and felt moved to paint as much as possible. Upon returning home Sue continued her studies and toured with the Art Association of Indianapolis. During this time she became friends with fellow Indiana artist William M. Chase, and she both studied with him and became secretary of his class. In 1893, Sue exhibited a piece depicting her mother during the World’s Fair in Chicago, and just a few years later, in 1898 she established her studio at Carnegie Hall in New York City, where it remained for 29 years. In 1927 Sue returned to Indianapolis, and she became the last of her siblings to die in 1930.

John Lewis “Lew” Ketcham: January 3, 1844 – November 29, 1915

Activity during the war: Lew attended Wabash College for a year before enlisting as a soldier, following his father’s wishes that he get an education and at least wait until he turned eighteen before joining the war effort. Lew was mustered into Company K of the 70th Indiana Regiment, and was promoted to sergeant in April 1864, just before

joining General William T. Sherman's March through Georgia. In March 1865 Lew became the regimental quartermaster, and he was discharged from service June 8, 1865.

After the war: In the fall of 1865 Lew joined the freshman class at Williams College in Massachusetts. He dropped out of school in the spring of 1869 upon his father's death, but he received his degree regardless. On April 27, 1870, Lew married Lilla McDonald, with whom he had eight children. Lew pursued several careers throughout his life, including director of the Indianapolis Water Company, partner at the architectural iron works of Haugh, Ketcham and Co., secretary-treasurer for Brown-Ketcham Iron Works, and president of the Employers' Association of Indianapolis, an organization he founded. Lew died on December 29, 1915.

William "Will" Ketcham: January 2, 1846 – December 27, 1921

Activity during the war: Will attended Wabash College from the fall of 1861 until he turned eighteen in January 1864, following the wishes of his father. Upon coming of age Will joined Company C of the 13th Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, which briefly became part of the Army of the Potomac just a few months later. He was made second lieutenant of the Company in December 1864, first lieutenant soon after, and was ultimately named captain of Company I in May 1865. Will was discharged from service September 25, 1865.

After the war: Immediately after leaving the Union army, Will went to Dartmouth College, impressively being admitted as a junior. He graduated in 1867, at which time he returned to Indianapolis to study under his father and Judge David McDonald to become a lawyer. He was admitted to the bar in 1868 and joined his father's law practice. On June 25, 1873, Will married McDonald's daughter, Flora, with whom he had seven

children. In 1894, Ketcham became the Attorney General of Indiana on the Republican ticket and served two terms, stepping down in 1899. Throughout his life Will was also an active member of the Grand Army of the Republic, serving as commander of the Department of Indiana GAR in 1907 and 1908, national judge advocate-general from 1915 to 1920, and national Commander-in-Chief from the 54th annual encampment on September 24, 1920 until the next encampment a year later. Will died soon after, in December 1921, of acute indigestion.

Henry Ketcham: May 5, 1848 – February 18, 1920

Activity during the war: Henry remained at home for most of the war, aside from the time he spent in Gallatin, Tennessee, with his mother. In 1862, when Jane left to serve as a nurse, she brought Henry along in the hopes that seeing the graphic wounds would keep him from wanting to enlist as soldier. The wounds did not appear to have the desired effect on Henry, and he was instead taken with camp life, helping the soldiers camped nearby with tasks such as turning wood from a fence into canes. He did, however, return home early from a bout of homesickness. While at home he attended school intermittently as he suffered from recurring headaches that kept him out of school for stretches of time.

After the war: Despite needing to take time off from school occasionally, Henry graduated from Williams College in 1869, at which point he felt a religious calling. He spent a year at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, and then another two years at Andover Seminary in Massachusetts, from which he graduated in 1872. He initially became a pastor in Minnesota before falling ill and taking time off to regain his health—it was during this time that he went abroad with his mother and sisters. Some

time after returning, Henry married Sarah Dickson Hendricks on October 8, 1879, with whom he had five children. He also returned to work, serving as a pastor in several states including New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Connecticut, New Jersey, and both North and South Dakota. During intervals between this work Henry performed editorial work, writing prefaces and biographical sketches for several sets of books, and for magazine articles. Henry died in Dallas, South Dakota, on February 18, 1920.

Edwin “Ed” Ketcham: July 19, 1850 – December 19, 1916

Activity during the war: Ed and twin brother Frank remained at home for the duration of the war, and everything known about their activity, which is admittedly minimal, comes from Ed’s letters and a story in Jane’s reminiscences. Ed himself wrote to brothers Lew and Will about selling stationery to soldiers camped nearby, suggesting that it was fairly easy for the boys to come in contact with the war effort. Ed also wrote to their Aunt Kate about how he and Frank had formed a “boy company” with their friends, in which they play acted as soldiers. Finally, Jane recalls learning from her husband that while she was serving as a nurse the twins got in an argument, leading Ed to take a horse and rode to his grandfather’s house in Bloomington, Indiana, a little more than fifty miles away. His grandfather apparently chastised him for worrying his father back home, at which point Ed turned around and went back.

After the war: Information about Ed’s life after the war is not forthcoming. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1873 and became an architect. He made plans for the insane hospitals in Richmond, Logansport, and Evansville, Indiana, and lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, for many years until becoming invalid and dying on December 19, 1916. He does not appear to have ever married or had children.

Frank Ketcham: July 19, 1850 – October 6, 1928

Activity during the war: Knowledge of Frank's wartime activity is limited. He and twin brother Ed remained at home and seemed to have been allowed to run about and do what they pleased. Most of the inferences that can be made come from Ed, who wrote more often than Frank and seems to have been more involved than his brother. For instance, Ed wrote about selling stationery to soldiers camped nearby and forming "boy companies," in which he, Frank, and their friends play acted as soldiers. Because the boys were twins, and both at home, it may be surmised that Frank took part in the same or similar activities, but he leaves no record of them or what he may have done separately from his brother.

After the war: Frank graduated from Williams College in 1872 and the "old Indiana medical college" in 1874, and then did post-graduate work at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, where he was the valedictorian of the Sydenham Medical Society. In 1874, Frank married Laura K. Robson, with whom he had three children. He practiced medicine in both Indiana and Ohio and served as both a dispatcher for the Indiana, Bloomington & Western railroad and a telegrapher for the Western Union Telegraph Company for more than thirty years. He spent the last ten years of his life engaged in music and masonic work. On October 6, 1928, Frank died from an apparent heart attack.

Janie Ketcham: October 16, 1854 – October 16, 1920

Activity during the war: Janie's wartime activity is largely unknown. Only six years old at the start of the war she was likely kept away from it as much as possible, although children were certainly aware at the least that it was happening, and it was

serious. The collection provides evidence that she may have grown somewhat rowdy with little supervision while her mother was serving as a nurse, as Will writes that she was becoming increasingly “tomboyish.” A very short letter, sent to Will along with a valentine, also proves that Janie was aware of the war’s effect on her family, namely its separation. She wrote about her desire to see the war ended so that her brothers could return home.

After the war: Janie’s life after the war is unfortunately also not well recorded. She attended classes at the Vassar College Preparatory School from 1871 to 1875, with the intention of being part of the class of 1878. However, she neither completed coursework nor graduated. It was reported upon her death that she also completed some schooling in France and Switzerland; this was likely part of the trip she took with her mother, sisters, and Henry in 1877. In 1879, after returning from the trip, she married Thomas E. Hibben, a buyer for the firm Hibben, Hollweg & Co., dealers in wholesale dry goods. The couple had five children together. Janie died on her sixty-sixth birthday, October 16, 1920, after being invalid for many years following a stroke of paralysis.

Formative Evaluation

This formative evaluation presents questions that would be asked of visitors during and after the exhibit, to gauge what worked well and what could be improved upon. Some of the questions are more general, such as those regarding the main messages and organization, to ensure that the exhibit is communicating what it is supposed to. If enough visitors did not understand the main messages or were confused about some aspect of the exhibit then it would need to be changed. The same reasoning applies to the question about the interactive; I want to ensure that it supplemented visitors' experiences and was useful, rather than an annoying distraction. Other questions are designed to encourage the visitor to think more deeply about the content. Asking about the visitor's sense of duty and what they might have done in the Ketchams' shoes encourages them to engage with the exhibit in a more meaningful and personal way. Similarly, in finally asking whether something was missing it encourages the visitor to think back on the exhibit and what they did learn, before they consider what else they might want to know.

1. What do you think the main message of the exhibit is?
2. Did the organization of the exhibit make sense?
3. Were there moments where you struggled to understand the information in the exhibit? Please describe what these were.
4. If you had lived during the Civil War, what would you have done? Which sense of duty speaks to you?
5. What did you think of the family tree interactive? Was it useful, or did it detract from your experience of the exhibit?
6. Is there anything that you thought was missing and would like to learn more about?

Storyline

I have thought of the exhibit as existing at the Indiana Historical Society. As a result, I have searched their database to find possible images and artifacts to include in the exhibit. In the following chart a few specific items are mentioned in the “Means of Expression” column. Additionally, any letters or photographs in the Ketcham collection that seem relevant should be used.

Components	Communication Objectives	Story Outline	Means of Expression
0.0 Orientation Panel	To introduce the Ketcham family, the basics of the Civil War in Indiana, and a definition of duty	The Civil War uprooted lives across the United States. Each person felt a sense of duty to the nation, whether it be to directly fight, provide support from at home, or educate themselves on how best to lead the nation after the war. Families were often separated, physically and idealistically, and the Ketchams were no exception.	Webster’s 1865 <i>An American Dictionary</i> opened to duty entry, page 421
1.0 Men’s Activity	To discuss the various senses of duty that men felt regarding the war effort, whether it be to serve the nation immediately in battle or later, as educated leaders of the battered nation	Across the northern states, many upper-class men of the older generation believed it was their and their sons’ duty to remain at home and support the war effort from afar. They believed their sons should	“Soldiers Wanted,” poster/broadside, BRDSDS_1861-1863_SOLDIERSWANTED

		get an education that they could then use to lead the nation after the war. The younger generation, however, believed they should serve as soldiers, and that their class status would make them ideal leaders in battle.	
1.1 John Ketcham and the Parental Perspective	<p>To show how many parental figures, especially those of the upper class like John, believed their children should stay in school during the war and support the nation after</p> <p>Relationship(s) highlighted: father-son</p>	Fathers, particularly in the northeastern region of the United States, urged their sons to remain in school during the Civil War. John, while personally not of northeastern heritage, shared this viewpoint. He told his sons numerous times to focus on their studies, as it would benefit the nation after the war.	Quotes from John Info from Marten
1.2 Lew and Will	To show how sons, again of the upper class, often disagreed with their parents, believing their duty was to be soldiers. Additionally, to show how young men did not all feel the same way, some wanted to stay in school and become leaders later	John's eldest sons, Lew and Will, respected their father's wishes to a point. While they could have disobeyed him and lied about their ages to enlist sooner, both waited until they turned eighteen. However, they saw their duty as being one of fighting for the nation.	Quotes from boys Info from Marten and Mujic Artifacts: a uniform, if it can be acquired

	Relationship(s) highlighted: father-son, siblings	Young men in the Northeast shared this opinion but others, mainly described at the University of Michigan, did not; they agreed with the northeastern fathers that education was of the utmost importance, and that education could be put to best use after the war.	
2.0 Women's Activity	To discuss the options open to women to support the war effort. To show the conflicting senses of duty, either to family or to the nation, and how these ideas could overlap	Most women during the Civil War, regardless of age, remained at home and supported the war effort from there. They prepared food, made and mended clothing, or created other items that were sent to soldiers. These women felt a sense of duty toward the soldiers, but also one toward their families, and believed their roles should remain primarily at home, as it had always been. Others wanted to help in a more direct way and became nurses, supporting soldiers on the front lines. This often conflicted with their duties to the home, but in some	Materials from the Indiana Sanitary Commission or Women's Relief Corps such as: "Report of the Indiana Sanitary Commission, Made to the Governor, January 2, 1865," pamphlet, PAM_E631_7_I6_I5_1865_44-45

		instances was an extension, especially if they were with husbands and sons who were soldiers.	
2.1 Bettie, Sue, and the Women at Home	<p>To discuss the home front activity. It was more acceptable for women to remain home and aid the war effort by preparing food and clothing to send to soldiers</p> <p>Relationship(s) highlighted: parent-daughter, siblings</p>	<p>Many women across both the North and South supported their menfolk from the safety of their homes. The Ketcham women, consisting of Jane and her two eldest daughters, participated in such activities as baking, knitting socks, and making pincushions that were either taken to soldiers in camps around the city or sent to those further away. Sue specifically wrote to her brothers about the “fervor” she, her sister, and their friends felt to do what they could to support the war effort.</p>	<p>Quotes from letters, reminiscences</p> <p>Pincushions, if they can be found</p> <p>Maps (below)</p> <p>Camp Morton pictures:</p> <p>Image of Camp Morton, OVC_GRAPHIC_PO455_BOX1_FOLDER14</p> <p>Inside Camp Morton, P0388_P_C8926</p> <p>Entrance to Camp Morton, PO388_P_C8923</p>
2.2 Jane and Nursing	To discuss the opportunity some women had to serve as nurses. This often came from a stronger sense of duty, a need to do something more direct. In some ways this competed	After helping at home for a time, Jane felt a need to do something more. When the opportunity presented itself to serve as a nurse she willingly went, feeling confident her husband and	<p>Quotes from letters, reminiscences</p> <p>Map of camps and battles near Gallatin</p> <p>Map of Kentucky and Tennessee with Army Positions – September 5, 1862, MAPCOLLECTION_G3701.S5SVAR.G4SHEET5A</p>

	<p>with the duty to family, as it took women away from home, or included it, as when women could nurture their own family</p> <p>Relationship(s) highlighted: husband-wife, mother-son</p>	<p>children would be okay. Many women felt this urge, whether in a general, national sense or in a strictly maternal way. Jane may have been somewhere in the middle, as Lew, her only child away from home at the time, was stationed where she nursed, although she did not necessarily choose to be with him.</p>	
3.0 Children	<p>To show how children participated in or at least interacted with the war while at home. While their duty may not have included actively participating in the war effort, it did include being aware of what was happening</p>	<p>Unless they lied about their ages and ran off to become soldiers, children had little direct contact with the war effort. They were often influenced by local meetings and pageants, however, as well as at school. Many participated in small ways, such as by selling small items and raising money for the troops. Whether they took part in these activities, children felt the effects of the war, and were aware of it.</p>	
3.1 The Ketcham Children	<p>To show the variety of children's activity. The</p>	<p>Few letters survive that fully expand on the</p>	<p>Quotes from letters</p>

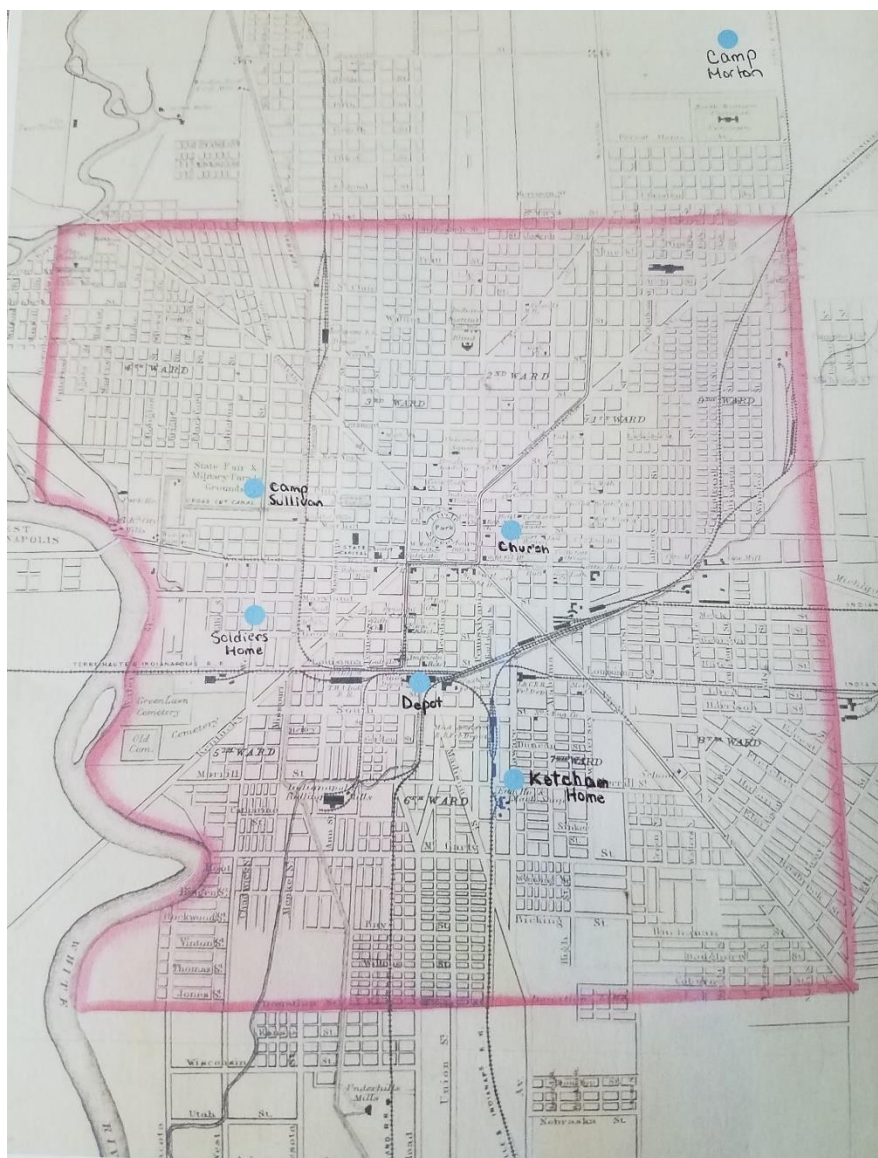
	<p>Ketcham children remained engaged in the war effort by interacting with soldiers camped nearby or acting out battles they learned about</p> <p>Relationship(s) highlighted: mother-son, siblings</p>	<p>Ketcham children. The eldest of the younger four, Henry, spent time in Gallatin while his mother was a nurse and helped with odd jobs around camp, such as making canes. He soon left due to homesickness, and intermittently went to school for the remainder of the war. The twins, Frank and Ed, primarily engaged with the war effort by forming boy companies and play acting as soldiers. They also interacted more directly with soldiers by selling stationery from their uncle's shop in nearby camps. Janie, the youngest child, does not appear to have had any direct contact with the war effort. However, a letter sent to bother Will towards the end of the war shows at least a recognition of its effect on her family.</p>	
4.0 Conclusion	To summarize how duty and activity was varied depending on age and gender	The Ketcham family interacted with the war effort in several different ways that aligned with both	

		<p>general northern behavior and their own personal preferences. The eldest sons became soldiers, as did many others, but did so only after attending school until they turned eighteen per their father's wishes. The eldest daughters remained at home, serving the nation in a socially acceptable way, while their mother took her skills elsewhere. Finally, the children engaged with the war effort in their own, small ways, although they were no less aware of it. Each had a distinct experience of the war that they carried with them throughout their lives, even if the "how" is not precisely known.</p>	
--	--	--	--

Appendices



Appendix A: H. B. Carrington, "Military Map of Indianapolis, 1862-1865." H. B. Carrington Files, Accession #1998275, Indiana State Archives. Copyright Library of Congress.



Appendix B: S.A. Mitchell, "Map c. 1867." OCLC #54685165, Indiana Historical Society.

Bibliography

Published Primary Sources

1860 Federal Population Census. Marion County, Indiana.

Alcott, Louisa May. *Hospital Sketches*. Boston: James Redpath, 1863.

Carrington, H.B. "Military Map of Indianapolis, 1862-1865." H. B. Carrington Files, Indiana State Archives, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Fletcher, Calvin. *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, Volumes I-IX. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1972-1983.

Graydon, Katharine Merrill. *Catharine Merrill: Life and Letters*. Greenfield, IN: The Mitchell Company, 1934.

Hibben, Helene. "1938 Biographical Register Questionnaire." Associate Alumnae of Vassar College, 1938. AAVC 1878, Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Library.

Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana, Vol. 1. Indianapolis: State Printer, 1869.

The Daily State Sentinel.

The Indianapolis Daily Journal.

The Indianapolis Star.

The New York Times.

Webster, Noah, revised and enlarged by Chauncey A. Goodrich and Noah Porter. *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam, 1865.

Primary Source Collections

Calvin Fletcher Family Materials, ca. 1852-1970s, SC2976. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Ketcham, Jane Merrill. "Reminiscences of Jane Merrill Ketcham," in John Lewis Ketcham Papers, BV1046. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

John Lewis Ketcham Papers, M0173. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Ketcham, William A. "Reminiscences of Civil War Experiences," SC0906. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Ketcham-Piercy Family Collection, 1830-1995, C240. Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Indiana.

David McDonald Autobiography, M0193. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Samuel Merrill Papers, 1812-1934, M0204. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Julia Merrill Moores Papers, M0213. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Secondary Sources

Aley, Ginette and J.L. Anderson, eds. *Union Heartland: The Midwestern Home Front During the Civil War*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013.

Barnes, James J. and Patience P. Barnes, eds. *500 Strong: Wabash College Students in the Civil War*. Carmel, IN: Hawthorne Publishing, 2013.

Carmichael, Peter S. *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in Peace, War, and Reunion*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Cashin, Joan E. *The War Was You and Me: Civilians in the American Civil War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Cayton, Andrew R. L. and Susan E. Gray. "The Story of the Midwest: An Introduction," in *The American Midwest: Essays on Regional History*, Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Cayton, Andrew R. L. "The Anti-Region: Place and Identity in the History of the American Midwest," in *The American Midwest: Essays on Regional History*, Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Censer, Jane T. "Finding the Southern Family in the Civil War." *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 1 (2012): 219-30.

Dunn, Jacob Piatt. *Indiana and Indianans: A History of Aboriginal and Territorial Indiana and the Century of Statehood*. 5 vols. Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1919.

Etcheson, Nicole. *A Generation at War: The Civil War Era in a Northern Community*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011.

- Foote, Lorien. *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Violence, Honor, and Manhood in the Union Army*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.
- Gallman, J. Matthew. *The North Fights the Civil War: The Home Front*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1994.
- , *Defining Duty in the Civil War: Personal Choice, Popular Culture, and the Union Home Front*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.
- Gugin, Linda C. and James E. St. Clair, eds. *The Governors of Indiana*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2006.
- Hager, Christopher. *I Remain Yours: Common Lives in Civil War Letters*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- History of the Kimball Family in America from 1634 to 1897*. Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1897.
- Johnson, Russell L. *Warriors into Workers: The Civil War and the Formation of Urban-Industrial Society in a Northern City*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2003.
- Keating, Ann Durkin. *The World of Juliette Kinzie: Chicago Before the Fire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Leonard, Elizabeth D. *Yankee Women: Gender Battles in the Civil War*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1994.
- Levin, Kevin M. *Interpreting the Civil War at Museum and Historic Sites*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.
- Linderman, Gerald F. *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*. New York: The Free Press, 1987.
- Manjerovic, Maureen and Michael J. Budds. "More Than a Drummer Boy's War: A Historical View of Musicians in the American Civil War." *College Music Symposium* 42 (2002): 118-130.
- Marten, James. *The Children's Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. Oxford University Press: New York, 1988.

- , *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- McPherson, James M., and William J. Cooper Jr, eds. *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand*. Revised edition. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000.
- Mujic, Julie A. "Ours is the Harder Lot," in *Union Heartland: The Midwestern Home Front during the Civil War*, Ginette Aley & J.L. Anderson, eds. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013.
- Municipal Engineering Index*. Indianapolis: Municipal Engineering Company, January-June 1909.
https://books.google.com/books?id=OB1KAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA331&lpg=PA331&dq=frederick+a+w+davis+indianapolis&source=bl&ots=p7uBf_ngbj&sig=ACfU3U3eP1-MXiffERtiR1Wqzl7kjgbgyA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj75bfE1NDjAhWUB50JHZkfDgYQ6AEwD3oECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=frederick%20a%20w%20davis%20indianapolis&f=false.
- Murphy, Michael B. *The Kimberlins Go to War: A Union Family in Copperhead Country*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2016.
- Paludan, Phillip Shaw. *A People's Contest: The Union and the Civil War, 1861-1865*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988.
- Ramold, Steven, J. *Across the Divide: Union Soldiers View the Northern Home Front*. New York: New York University Press, 2013.
- Rodgers, Thomas E. "Hoosier Soldiers in the Civil War." *Indiana Historical Bureau*.
<https://www.in.gov/history/3991.htm>.
- Schultz, Jane E. *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053-1075.
- Scott, Sean A. "'Earth Has No Sorrow That Heaven Cannot Cure': Northern Civilian Perspectives on Death and Eternity during the Civil War." *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 4 (2008): 843-66.
- "Selected Class Histories: College Class of 1852." *Penn University Archives & Records Center*. Accessed March 20, 2019. <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-history/class-histories/class-of-1852>.

- Sheehan-Dean, Aaron. *The View from the Ground: Experiences of Civil War Soldiers*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007.
- Silber, Nina. *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Skidmore, Richard S. "Civil War," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, David Bodenhamer, and Robert G. Barrows, eds. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- "States by Order of Entry Into the Union." *Infoplease*. Accessed March 15, 2019. <https://www.infoplease.com/history-and-government/us-history/states-order-entry-union>.
- Taylor, Amy Murrell. *The Divided Family in Civil War America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
- The Class of Sixty-Nine Williams College: After 50 Years*. Mineola, NY, 1919.
- "The Wirz Monument." *National Park Service*. Last updated April 14, 2015. <https://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/wirz-mon.htm>.
- Thornbrough, Emma Lou. *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1965.
- Towne, Stephen E. *Surveillance and Spies in the Civil War: Exposing Confederate Conspiracies in America's Heartland*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015.
- Urban, William. "Monmouth College in the Civil War." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 71, no. 1 (1978): 13-21.
- Vanausdall, Jeanette. "'A Worthy History:' The Indianapolis Retirement Home, 1867-1992." *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History* 4, no. 4 (1992): 34-43.
- Walker, Chris. "The Fugitive Slave Case of John Freeman and its Influence on Indiana Politics." *Indiana Magazine of History* 114, no. 1 (2018): 1-38.
- Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. Class of 1869: Williams College Class of 1869*. Mineola, NY: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company, 1911.
- Wongsrichanalai, Kanisorn. *Northern Character: College-Educated New Englanders, Honor, Nationalism, and Leadership in the Civil War Era*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2016.

Curriculum Vitae

Anastasia Tanzer

Education

- M.A. Public History, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Indiana, 2020
- B.A. History and Psychology, North Central College, Illinois, 2017

Professional Experience

- 8/2018-5/2019: Graduate Assistant, Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art, Indiana
- 8/2017-7/2018: Graduate Assistant, National Council on Public History, Indiana

Honors, Awards, and Societies

- 2016: Phi Alpha Theta Inductee
- 2016: Schleuter Scholarship, North Central College
- 2013: Presidential Scholarship, North Central College
- 2013: NCC Founders Award, North Central College

Publications

- Tanzer, Anastasia. "Conflicted Duty on the Indiana Home Front: A Family's Civil War Story." Master's thesis, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, 2020.
- Swihart, Jackie, Garrett Receveur, Sam Opsahl, and Stasia Tanzer. "Amplifying Public History: Taking OAH Beyond Their Annual Meeting." Blog post, National Council on Public History, 2018. <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/amplifying-public-history/>.
- Swihart, Jackie, Garrett Receveur, Sam Opsahl, and Stasia Tanzer. "Amplifying Public History: Taking OAH Beyond Their Annual Meeting." Newsletter article, National Council on Public History, December 2018. <https://ncph.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/2018-December-Newsletter-Final.pdf>.